00031375

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from
NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach
on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

India—Stepmother

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

India—Stepmother

B1696

BY

SIR CLAUDE H. HILL
K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

"Hard her service, poor her payment—she in ancient
tattered raiment—
India, she the grim Stepmother of our kind. . . ."
—RUDYARD KIPLING.

31375
aC

William Blackwood & Sons Ltd.
Edinburgh and London
1929

Printed in Great Britain *All Rights reserved*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

God
954
Hil/Ind
31375

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dedicated to

MY WIFE

WHOSE WISH IT WAS THAT THE BOOK SHOULD BE PUBLISHED.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	ix
I.	1866-1887	I
II.	SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION	14
III.	WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. CONSULE, LORD ELGIN, 1895-1897	50
IV.	INDIAN POLITICAL SERVICE HYDERABAD, 1897-1899; UDAIPUR, 1906-1908: A CONTRAST.	71
V.	LORD NORTHCOTE IN BOMBAY	106
VI.	POLITICAL AND FOREIGN WORK AND LORD CURZON	133
VII.	UDAIPUR AGAIN, AND KATHIAWAR, 1906-1912	157
VIII.	MEMBER OF COUNCIL, BOMBAY, 1912-1915 RACING LEGISLATION—BOMBAY DEVELOPMENT —THE GREAT WAR.	191
IX.	MEMBER OF COUNCIL, SIMLA AND DELHI, 1915-1920 WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DURING THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER.	216
X.	INDIA OLD AND NEW	256
	NOTE TO CHAPTER X.	296
XI.	WHAT NEXT?	297
	APPENDIX A. CASTE	326
	APPENDIX B. LIST OF VICEROYS OF INDIA, 1894 TO 1921	328
	INDEX	329

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION

To any one who has lived in France during the years succeeding the War it is a commonplace that the French, however well disposed towards us, find themselves wholly unable to believe that our losses in France amounted to a million men. In the same way, while politely attentive, it is a physical impossibility to get a Frenchman to believe in the magnitude of India's effort during the War. I well remember asking a great friend of mine in Paris what he supposed had been the number of Indian troops despatched overseas between 1914 and 1918, and his reply that he supposed it "might have amounted to one hundred thousand or one hundred and fifty thousand men."

In respect of India, at all events, this scepticism in France is the more intelligible when one reflects that, outside the India Office, and those individuals in Whitehall whose business it is to read official documents, it is improbable that a hundred people in England realise that

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

India sent 1,800,000 men overseas in the fighting services. The mere figure is sufficiently surprising, but even the figure can afford no sort of notion of the psychological effect upon India of this gigantic and unprecedented mobilisation of her manhood. Of the 1,800,000 men a large preponderance came from the Punjab, and their departure and return acted as a leaven to stimulate reflection and speculation. Parallel with the movement in encouragement of the military effort on behalf of the Allies, there continued to operate the tendency on the part of the *intelligentsia* of India to clamour for an extension of representative institutions, and what was, at the end of the War, to be called 'self-determination.' Without attempting here to trace in detail the developments which resulted from the unsettling effects of the mobilisation of the fighting races of India, coupled with the teachings of the recently developed 'national' politicians, it should be no matter for surprise to English opinion that a certain amount of trouble and disaffection was generated.

Now, before 1914, despite the appearance of such notable books on India as Sir Valentine Chirol's 'Indian Unrest,' Chailley's 'Administrative Problems of British India' and the like, which it is fair to suppose were read by some few of our legislators, the interest taken in Indian affairs was measured by the boredom with which Parliament 'sacrificed' one evening

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

per annum to a consideration of them. Outside Parliament this apathy was even more intense. Consequently, it has been with a wholly unwarranted shock of surprise that England, since 1918, has realised that things are not going to stand still in India any more than they have stood still in the rest of the world. Popular books like 'The Lost Dominion,' 'A Passage to India,' and so forth, have achieved an added interest from the publication of Miss Mayo's remarkable study 'Mother India'; and, finally, the lapse of time having brought us to the period when, under the Government of India Act of 1919, stock must be taken of its operation, the public of Great Britain is at last becoming conscious of the existence of a very profound and difficult problem.

It is perhaps unfortunate that, as a quite natural result, journalism has awakened to the fact that there is a news-value to-day in messages from India; because, *ex hypothesi*, these messages must be of an arresting character if their news-value is to be maintained. If an estimate could be made it would perhaps be found that more news had been telegraphed from India to the daily press of the world within the decade 1918 to 1928 than in all the thirty or forty preceding years. Not a riot can occur in India, however local and petty the occasion for it, and no matter how insignificant its circumstances, without our reading all about it at breakfast the following

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

morning under some such heading as "Indian Unrest," "More Communal Trouble in India," or the like. But since no news-value is inherent in the pacific continuity of the administration throughout 99 per cent of the area, the general impression created is that India is in the throes of a dangerous revolution. The fact is that there is more enjoyment both to the journalist and to the newspaper reader in one village where there is a breach of the peace, than in ninety and nine just hamlets which afford no food for Reuter.

Now, when I began, for my own amusement, in such leisure hours as accrue to me in the Isle of Man, to write down some of my Indian reminiscences, nothing was much more alien to my intention than to contribute information likely to assist an understanding of our Indian problem. I found, however, as I came to deal with the later years of my service, that I could not, even if I wished to, avoid references to the political issues which are such an urgent pre-occupation to-day. Not only had I been a party to, but in a certain degree I had a rather special responsibility for, the discussions which led to the reforms embodied in the Act of 1919, which refashioned the structure of the governmental edifice.

If there is, in the result, a certain incongruity in the scheme of the pages which follow, there is, one may hope, a countervailing consideration.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In the earlier chapters I have tried not merely to describe events, but to present a picture of Indian characteristics and outlook. The picture is the result, of course, of the impressions made upon me personally by a very close and friendly intercourse with very many Indians of very widely differing race, creed, and caste. It has helped me to arrive at certain conclusions in the matter of our duty to India at large. If I have succeeded in delineating my impressions in such a way as to convey a picture to others, then it may help them also to an appreciation of the problem which it is our common duty to solve, and may serve to interest them in devising the right solution.

The attractiveness of India to those who serve her is very compelling. With several of the races that contribute to her millions we British have a close affinity and perhaps kinship; and among almost all is to be found an immediate response to sympathy and understanding. Sensitive to an almost incredible degree, misunderstandings are often hard to avoid; but the experience of my wife and myself has been invariably that goodwill on our side meets with an unhesitating response on theirs.

C. H. H.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

India—Stepmother.

CHAPTER I.

1866-1887.

At the age of sixty it is possible to appreciate the fact that most of the incidents of life which have been most keenly regretted have had ample compensation. The occasion which stands out as most deplorable in my early recollections is the moment when my father decided to take me away from school (Dr Stephen Hawtrey's school at Windsor) and to send me to Lausanne to learn French. I was then sixteen, was nearly at the top of the school, and was just developing into a fairly good cricketer.

I still keenly regret that I never recovered my cricket, but I am bound to admit that the acquisition of a good knowledge of French has been of the greatest possible value to me latterly, though for my thirty years in India it remained a vain accomplishment. And translation to Switzerland did something else for me. I do

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

not suppose that the methods of teaching at Dr Hawtrey's school were more futile than elsewhere in the 'eighties of last century, but I can confidently assert that, if the system there in vogue was typical of other schools, the average boy must usually have passed out of his school career with but the vaguest knowledge of the Why and the How of things, and without any marked desire to pursue the paths of learning along which he had been led more or less blindfold. Beyond the ambition to avoid penal school, with its consequential absence from the playing-fields, I cannot recall experiencing the stimulus of any desire to acquire knowledge or understanding for its own sake. In that respect the teaching at the École Industrielle at Lausanne was a revelation. Appeals were actually made to one's intelligence, one's interest was aroused, and I found, to my intense surprise, that geometrical drawing, for example, meant something more than a mental gymnastic, and that it had a definite human interest.

These things have all changed immensely for the better in England; but I feel that I ought to record my debt of gratitude to my father for a measure which at the time I cordially, though silently, detested. And in the light of my life's experience I owe him yet another, earlier, debt of obligation. We lived in Yorkshire. We were a large and, I feel sure, a

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

thoroughly self-satisfied—and, to strangers, disagreeable—family, completely self-centred. Suddenly we were transported bodily to Germany, and sojourned for two years at Darmstadt.

My eldest sister was then fourteen, I was ten, and the youngest of us only a baby. Though there was a large English colony there, some of whom I have come across in later years, the important fact was that those who were old enough attended a German school daily, and unconsciously assimilated the psychology of Germans in a fashion which would have been impossible in any other conditions or at á later stage of one's development.

It was not until forty years later, after I had retired from the Indian service, that I derived the full benefit from the diverse experiences of my early youth; since, but for those varied and rather cosmopolitan educational adventures, I could never have grappled successfully with the problems which bristled in the way of establishing and organising the International League of Red Cross Societies, first in Geneva and later in Paris.

Our sojourn in Germany included one event of vivid interest. My father took me to the Southern Army Manœuvres not far from Darmstadt, and there I saw not only the old Emperor William but von Moltke and von Bismarck. The manœuvres, which I remember did not greatly impress my father—an old Crimean

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

officer—as having any close relation to reality, were followed by military steeplechases which, in my eleven-year-old eyes, bore no comparison in the matter of obstacles to the Tenby steeplechases, which were the only races I had previously seen. Moreover, the fact that the officers competed in their tight military uniforms aroused my childish contempt.

It may be worth while to record here a characteristic of the British infant sojourning abroad, which must be anything but an endearing one to his foreign hosts. In association with other English children of our own ages, we soon made the discovery that German children, though not particularly fond of us, paid us a respect which was a startling novelty. The result was to foster in our small breasts a sense of superiority which led us into many scrapes, including on one occasion, I recollect, pursuit, capture by the police, and removal to the police station, where an affected ignorance of the German language alone saved us. That the respect with which we were regarded by the German boys was not tinctured by affection was shown by the frequency with which we had to fight our way home from school—but only when the German boys were in a strong numerical majority.

It seemed improbable that we should ever meet in after life the friends with whom we fought the enemy and offended against the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

laws of the German Empire; but many years later, when I was a member of Lord Sydenham's Executive Council in Bombay, I was destined to find that Colonel Walter Scudamore, R.E., was Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department. More curious, perhaps, was the meeting with the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, with whom we used to play as children, in Bombay when he and his staff stayed at Government House, Bombay, as guests of Lord Northcote, whose Private Secretary I was; and a yet more unexpected meeting was with Baron Schenk von Schweinigen when he came out on the staff of the blind Landgraf of Hesse-Cassel, who, in the course of his Indian tour, spent a week with me in the jungle at Udaipur. I shall perhaps have more to say about that experience later. I cite it here only because Baron Schenk had been one of our German friends in Darmstadt to whom we English boys had tried to teach the rudiments of Rugby football.

Lausanne, in the 'eighties of last century, was a relatively small town; but was even then recognised as an advanced educational centre, and there was consequently quite a large English colony. The majority of that colony, *more Britannico*, lived a self-contained life apart; but, as a community, British residents were not quite so unpopular as they were in Darmstadt. This was in no sense because the English students

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

conducted themselves with greater consideration towards the Swiss. It was rather, I think, because the Swiss have a weaker sense of national dignity, and are prepared to tolerate a good deal provided there is a profit to be made. During my sojourn at Lausanne the English army students at a certain crammer's establishment actually stormed and took possession of the Town Hall, and turned the Municipal officials out into the streets. As in the case of most of such escapades, this was the result purely of excess of spirits, stimulated by that British feeling of superiority, and tempered by a good-natured pity for the poor fellows who did not happen to be Anglo-Saxon. Of course, there was a considerable disturbance and threats of proceedings; but, to the honour of the Lausanne authorities, the matter was allowed to be settled without serious complaints being made. So far as I can recollect, after holding the fort for nearly twenty-four hours, the garrison was permitted to evacuate after ample apologies had been made.

It will be readily appreciated that such heterogeneous store of book-learning as I accumulated in Germany, at school in England, and from a rather desultory attendance at the École Industrielle in Lausanne, was less likely to enable me to pass examinations than to render me proficient in two modern languages. My father, who, at Sandhurst in the early eighteen-fifties,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had carried off more than his fair share of prizes for mathematics, was disappointed to find my incapacity for that science so conspicuous as to entail giving up all idea of making a successful entrance into Cooper's Hill, *en route* for the Indian Woods and Forests or Public Works Department; so as a *pis aller*—and, I may add, as a forlorn hope—I was then sent for a year to Wren and Gurney's to have a try for the Indian Civil Service. Knowing that it was that or business in England, I certainly worked hard; and I owe a very deep debt of gratitude for the admirable instruction and kindly personal help that I received at the hands of the staff there.

Wren's were not crammers: they represented to me the first intelligent aid I had received in the task of cultivating such mental capacity as I was endowed with. Being in the ranks of the phalanx from whom no great credit was expected to the establishment, I cannot say that any very great interest in my studies was displayed by the directors, but the individual instructors were impartially helpful to us all. In those days we had to pass for the I.C.S. between the ages of seventeen and nineteen; and those who were not specialists in classics or mathematics—I could claim to be neither—had to rely upon a multiplicity of minor subjects for success. Greatly to my own surprise, but much more so to that of the firm in Powis

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Square, I passed quite creditably; and though, when I saw the marks, I could not avoid a feeling that in two subjects I must have been awarded some one else's, there did not seem to be sufficient reason for raising the question!

For the benefit of others who may be similarly situated, in case any such should ever read these lines, I feel that I ought to add that the only subject that I found it possible to cram was Higher Mathematics. Understanding them not at all, I begged the mathematical expert, a fortnight before the Open Examination, to indicate to me half a dozen problems of the most paying kind which, in his opinion, might be set. He told me that it was quite futile for me to memorise them, but, to please me, he marked six. I did memorise them, and, as four of them were set, I acquired quite 50 per cent higher marks in 'maths' than my acquaintance with the subject justified.

The Open Examination was then followed by two years at a University; and since Emmanuel College, Cambridge, then gave a special scholarship of £150 to the best I.C.S. student of his year, I decided to enter there. A determining consideration was that only one other I.C.S. man of my year entered Emmanuel, and we were able to come to an understanding by which, in order to avoid any undignified struggle between us, the scholarship would be halved. I regret to say that this admirable, if immoral, pact

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

proved our undoing, because after two terms—during which we had both done a minimum of work—an industrious apprentice transferred himself from Peterhouse to Emmanuel and swept the board.

Like the majority of I.C.S. candidates of my period, I elected not to stay 'up' at the University a third year to take a degree. Financial considerations precluded it in my case, but, while I have always regretted my inability to stay another year, I am bound to say that the advantage of doing so was doubtful. It is true that, some years later, the authorities raised the age for appearance at the competitive examination in order to enable men who had taken a degree to appear. This measure, no doubt, secured candidates with a more complete education; but it also delayed arrival in India, and adaptation to Indian life and conditions, to the age of twenty-four or thereabouts. Admitting the many advantages which may be claimed on this score, my experience tells me that there is one very serious drawback. Not only is the young man of twenty-four more 'set' and unadaptable, he is also less able to attain to that familiarity with the vernacular languages which is essential to a real understanding of, and sympathy with, the mass of the people.

While on the subject I should like to advert to another aspect of the latter-day Indian

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

civilian as I observed him during my later years of service. The riding test, which I believe is still applied to candidates, gave me no trouble because, fortunately, I had ridden all my life, but it was a serious fence to some of my contemporaries. They were, however, young enough to acquire a certain competence as equestrians. I was driven to wonder whether this be still the case in view of the preference of the young men who came to India after 1900 for motor-bicycles and cars.

Now these are all very well, but they do not bring the official every day into close contact with the people. He no doubt acquires, in a relatively short time, a superficial geographical acquaintance with the district in his charge; but I derived a very definite impression that he is in less intimate touch with the people than we used to be. I shall no doubt be told that this is imagination on my part, and that one is able to do a great deal more travelling and to see much more of one's charge on a motor-cycle or in a car than is possible on a horse. I admit the latter claim willingly—just as I do that the man with a car in England travels farther afield than he used to do twenty years ago. But it is perhaps open to question whether the motor-cyclist sees, or becomes acquainted with, anything beyond the hedges of the roads he traverses. At least I am on firm ground,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and shall be supported by all my contemporaries, in asserting that it was in the course of one's rides across country, from village to village, on inspection duty or moving camp, perhaps stopping to shoot by the way, or coursing a jackal, hare, or fox, or enlisting the co-operation of villages in the dislodgment and pursuit of a pig, that one came into closest and most understanding contact with the country folk.

It was then impossible, perhaps for weeks or months on end, to get back to the headquarter station and one's English friends, and as a consequence one developed an interest in, and a camaraderie with, the villagers which I believe to have been of the greatest possible value. The personal equation will always count for much in India, and the considerations I have set out above have been suggested to me over and over again by my Indian friends.

I fear these comments are out of place and out of time at this point, but I may as well at the outset admit to myself, and to any one who may see these recollections, that they will follow no exact chronological order. With a view, however, to a fair start on India in the next chapter, I will conclude this with some recollections of the voyage out. In 1887 one of the largest vessels of the P. & O. fleet was the *Sutlej*, of less than 5000 tons, in which half a dozen newly joined civilians set sail on the 23rd October.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We touched at Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Suez, and Aden, picking up the mails at Port Said. The leisure of those days permitted us to disembark everywhere for the best part of a day. Port Said of the 'eighties harboured, I suppose, the worst blackguards in the world, and it was not policed with the efficiency which has marked the administration of Egypt of more recent years. A party, of which I was one, rather rashly visited one of the exceedingly noisome gambling dens which were a feature of the town, and the circumstance that one of us won a considerable stake at roulette threatened serious trouble, and might have led to worse had not one of our number, more familiar with Port Said traditions than the rest, quietly warned us to get together in a body and retire. Port Said is far from being an attractive spot to-day, but is an ideal garden city in comparison with the squalor of those days, when it appeared to be the resort of all the citizens of the Eastern Mediterranean whose own countries had no use for them.

At Suez I had my first object-lesson of the fundamental difference of East and West. One rode on donkeys (named variously after male or female celebrities such as 'Miss Cass,' 'Mrs Langtry,' 'Mr Bradlaugh,' &c.) from the port to Suez City, then a deplorable collection of filthy tenements between which one waded alter-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

nately in a foot of sand or six inches of mud. We came across a carpenter's shanty in which a man was sawing a lengthy plank. He was seated on the ground *under* the plank, contentedly receiving the resultant sawdust in a steady stream in his eyes.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER II.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

It has been suggested to me, by one whose experience transforms a suggestion into a direction, that it is desirable to preface any memories of India by some outline of the machinery of administration.

There can be no doubt of the fundamental ignorance of any reader, however intelligent, of the everyday duties and responsibilities of those charged with the peace and good government of the Indian continent. Not only did I start my career in the Bombay Presidency blissfully unconscious of the other cog-wheels of the machine of which I formed a negligible item, but I continued in that state of felicity for about two years. I have a suspicion—amounting almost to an apprehension—that in this respect I was less assimilative than my fellows; for, with them, I had certainly undergone a course of instruction for two years in subjects which included Indian history, Hindu

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and Mahomedan law, and two eastern languages; and in theory, at any rate, I had attained to a certain degree of acquaintance with them. Looking back, however, after forty years, I believe I can find some excuses. Not only has no history of India ever been written, but no history of India ever will be written. The outline commentaries on isolated periods of Indian history, dealing as they do mainly with the epoch following the Mahomedan incursion and the era of British penetration, narrate the political events which stand out most conspicuously in the sight of the outside world, but in the very nature of things those which are made use of by students, with a time-limit for their studies, convey little or no lasting impression of the contributory human factors. If the purpose be, as here, to interest the casual reader, the position is even more difficult. How is one to sketch the background of the picture of our Indian problem? Yet, divorced from its background, the delineation of the structure of the governmental machine becomes meaningless. In his 'Protected Princes of India,' Sir William Lee-Warner compared the situation, at the time when our direct responsibilities began to assume a coherent shape, to a stormy sea suddenly frozen into a solid rugged surface. That frozen surface represented, however, only a particular phase of the chronic unrest and change of which India, with her hundred races

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and languages, has been the victim from the dawn of history.

After the period of the Aryan tribal immigrations and the introduction of Hinduism, India was stamped with the impress of Greek, Persian, and Semitic influences, and had then to submit to a succession of Turanian and Mongolian invasions. Militant Islam accompanied the later of these alien tidal waves, and the surface of the land became an arabesque of Dravidian, Aryan, and Mongolian peoples, superimposed on the aboriginal races now almost submerged. The phase to which we succeeded was the period of internal struggle between Maratha, Rajput, Moghul, and Sikh, with the added misery of periodic Afghan incursions. Religious reformers in the north, ambitious Brahmins in the west and south, Mahomedan fanaticism in other regions, and the absence of any dominant personalities had brought India to a stage of disintegration from which it became our business to rescue her.

And yet, running through all the kaleidoscopic changes, two factors of supreme importance persisted—namely, the Hindu philosophy, transmuted into a social system, and a scheme of administration based upon that philosophy, but converted into practicable shape by the genius of some of the earlier Moghul rulers.

India probably owes more to-day to the Emperor Akbar than to any other single in-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

dividual, and we, as Akbar's successors in office, can hardly overstate our indebtedness to him. In an age when violence was the only recognised determinant in human affairs, coming of a race and belonging to a religious sect of which the outstanding characteristic was ruthless fanaticism, Akbar displayed a statesmanship and a capacity for administration which are nothing short of marvellous. Recognising and adopting what was good in the social and religious systems of India, he wrought to weave into them a scheme of administration which should fit into the lives of the people and make for homogeneity and contentment; and through his genius there was evolved, throughout the greater part of India, a plan of government which even the ineptitude and incapacity of most of his successors and the warring ambition of their competitors had not been able altogether to destroy.

Our task was to reconstruct upon the battered foundations so well and truly laid by Akbar; and the shape of the existing structure does not vitally depart from his model. In the description which follows I have endeavoured to summarise and greatly abbreviate the account given in Vol. IV. of the Imperial Gazetteer, and have been much helped in my task by a Memorandum drawn up in October 1907 by the late Sir William Meyer, with whom, at the time, I was associated in preparing material for the Decentralisation Commission, presided over by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sir Charles Hobhouse, which visited India in the winter of 1907-8.

Our inheritance, then, was a system under which the functions of the Government are, in some respects, much wider than in most European countries. The Moghul theory was that the Government owned the land and was entitled to a share in the produce, and the Government of British India to-day makes the same claim. It also claims the right of periodical reassessment of the cash value of its share, except in areas where, as in Bengal, it has commuted it into a fixed land-tax. "Where its assessments are made upon large landholders, it intervenes to prevent them from levying excessive rents from their tenants." Government not only undertakes the management of minors' estates and estates which are encumbered, but in times of famine or crop-failure it starts relief works and other palliative measures. It owns and manages vast forests and immense irrigation works; it owns nearly all the railways in the country and manages many of them; and is also, of course, the owner and administrator of the postal and telegraph services. It largely finances the works of municipalities and local boards, lends money on easy terms for agricultural improvements, and discharges the normal functions of a government in regard to police, jails, courts of justice, education, medical and health operations, and public works.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The authorities exercising the functions of government under the general supervision and control of the Government of India are the local governments of the different provinces, and statutory bodies, operating under the local government's control, such as District Boards, Municipalities, Port Trusts, Improvement Trusts, &c.

Speaking generally, while the Government of India retains in its own hands all matters relating to foreign relations, defence, general taxation, currency, debt, tariffs, posts, telegraphs, and railways, the ordinary internal administration is left to the discretion of the provincial governments, subject to a very general control as to policy in matters affecting more provinces than one.

The interests of the territories ruled over by Indian princes, the area of which exceeds one-fifth of the whole country, are now in nearly all cases looked after by the Government of India.

The statutory bodies to which I have referred, which function under the control of the provincial governments, are responsible, in the main, for the development within their jurisdiction of ports, education, medical relief and health, roads, the control of markets, and so forth.

The system of general administration "is based on the repeated subdivision of territory,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

each administrative area being in the responsible charge of an officer who is subordinate to the officer next in status above him." Thus a Commissioner (or the Board of Revenue in some provinces) is responsible to the provincial government for the administration of several districts, the Collectors in charge of which are responsible to him. In turn, each district is subdivided into divisions, each in charge of a revenue and magisterial officer who is responsible to the Collector. It may give some notion of the size of the country if I add that there are more than 250 districts in British India, and that the average size of a district is 4430 square miles and the average population over 930,000. As the Gazetteer says, "the average district is thus about three-fourths of the size of Yorkshire, and its inhabitants number considerably more than half the population of that county."

Each of the subdivisions of a district is in charge of a subordinate Indian revenue official, and it is to such a charge that the young Indian civilian is posted in the first instance. There he comes into very close contact with the people, becomes familiar with their modes of life, prejudices, grievances and capacities, and if he be sympathetic and accessible he may then gain an insight into their psychology which will stand him in good stead throughout his service. To achieve this relationship with the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

people it is indispensable that he should acquire a really fluent knowledge of the vernacular, and all provincial governments very rightly set great store on this, and apply a really severe language test before admitting him for promotion to a wider sphere of responsibilities.

Any one who wishes to have a more or less exhaustive description of the duties of the official upon whom devolves the real day-to-day work of the Indian Empire—namely, the Collector of a District—should peruse pp. 49 *et seq.* of Vol. IV. of the Imperial Gazetteer; but it is easier and also truer to say that *everything* pertaining to the life of the people in his charge is his responsibility. The Collector is the physical embodiment of the 'Sarkar'—British Government,—and upon the personal characteristics of the Collector depend the peace and good relations of a million or so souls.

It is, moreover, safe to say that the whole of the district knows, within the space of a very few weeks of his appointment, what kind of a Collector it has got. Newspapers play but little part in the diffusion of this knowledge, but the bazaar gossip transmits far and wide and with miraculous rapidity the impressions gained in the Collector's office. District life in India is public life in its most comprehensive sense.

Many have read Kipling's stories, 'The Head of the District' and 'William the Conqueror,'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and they and others convey in the best possible manner some notion of the diversity of interests which absorb the life of the chief revenue officer; and since, as I have said, these interests include all matters relating to human life, it is quite impossible to exhaust the category. Several months in each year are spent in camp, travelling round the district, investigating grievances, hearing complaints, administering justice, and assimilating experiences. If there is an outbreak of fire in a town where he happens to be, it is the Collector's duty—and, I may add, great fun—to direct the operations for its extinction. He has to know all about land-tenures, municipal administration, sports clubs, marriage customs; he has to inquire into every sort of offence, criminal or civil; and he soon finds that he must evolve and pronounce an opinion upon matters of water supply, engineering, education, police, and morals generally. And the charm of it all lies in the fact that all this has to be done in the closest contact with the soil and the people and the realities of life. I have already said that the personal equation is the most important factor in Indian administration, and I would add here that the personality of the official counts before everything—from the Viceroy down to the humblest subordinate.

No people are more amenable to reason and suasion than Indians; none are so responsive to a kind hearing; and none more acquiescent

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in a decision, even adverse, if they feel they have had a fair and patient inquiry. All this one learns, and can only learn, by that close contact and intimate association which is inherent in the admirable system under which all district officials—and especially the juniors—spend long months touring in their charges, and are divorced from the more sophisticated employments and pleasures of the headquarter station.

Many old civilians have regretted the passing of the days when a man might have charge perhaps for twenty years of the same district without even a break for a holiday at home. Something doubtless is lost by the more frequent changes which latter-day administration calls for, but there is probably a countergain. Any one with his heart in it can within two years acquire an intimate knowledge of a district in any province outside Bengal, where conditions are somewhat special; and the official, as well perhaps as the people, may profit by fresh atmosphere and a change of ideas. But the era that has passed away had its attractiveness, and few anecdotes of the old-time practice have had for me a greater attraction than the following:—

A Mr White was Collector of the District of Broach in the Bombay Presidency between 1860 and 1880. He was beloved of the people, and was literally, as they express it, their '*Ma-Bap*'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(father and mother). He was a student rather than a sportsman, and perfectly content to vegetate in the none too attractive district to which he had been consigned.

To serve under him came, as time went on, youngsters of a newer school, fond of games and sport, and, recognising the merits attaching to this more active habit, Mr White bethought himself that if he was to be an efficient guide, philosopher, and friend to the rising generation of civilians, he should bestir himself and share in some at least of their pastimes.

He possessed an ancient rifle—unused for many years. He got it out and had it cleaned and oiled, and proceeded to study the problem of how he was to begin his career as a shikari. His sight had never been good and had not improved with age. His figure had expanded with the years, and neglect of necessary physical exercise had tended to make him soft. He consulted with his head *pattavala* (peon), who informed him that, in the village where Mr White happened at the time to be encamped, a crocodile had quite recently seized and carried off a child into the village *jheel*. The peon suggested that the slaughter of a man-eating crocodile would be a suitable opening to a shooting career, and would redound to the Collector's honour as the protector of the poor of the district.

The scheme was attractive; and in the evening Mr White sallied forth, attended by two of his

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

peons skilled in matters of *shikar*. The bank of the village jheel was cautiously approached, and observations were taken from the top. A crocodile is extraordinarily difficult to see from a distance of 150 yards when lying still upon mud undistinguishable in colour from its own skin; at last a slight movement on the opposite bank convinced Mr White that he saw the terror of the village. Without waiting to have his surmise confirmed by the peons who lay behind him, he drew a careful bead on the object which had moved, and fired. Nothing conspicuous happened, so the Collector and his two attendants made their way round in the growing dusk to where the object aimed at had been. They found it. Mr White had shot only too straight; but he had mistaken an old, old woman clad in a brown *sari*, who was picking salad at the edge of the water, for the crocodile.

He was overwhelmed with grief and horror at what he had done, and broke down completely.

He ordered one of his attendants at once to summon the *patil* (village headman) in order that he might give himself into his custody while the police could be fetched from the nearest police station to arrest him. The disapproval of his attendants, and of the *patil* when he came, of this course of action was forcibly expressed.

"What? Was the District Magistrate himself, who was also the father and mother of the whole District, to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

be arrested by his own police force and brought into the court of his own subordinate magistracy? And all because of an accident? Moreover, the accident might have been much worse. After all, it was only an old woman who was dead—a widow, too, with no dependants, but herself an incumbrance to her family. The Sahib must on no account take so serious a view of the catastrophe which was so obviously but an accident, causing, to their regret, the keenest grief to the Sahib."

However, Mr White, inconsolable and nearly broken-hearted, insisted, and sent the *patil* off to report matters to the nearest police station, himself remaining in a state of distraction near the poor old woman's body, attended by his two devoted peons. These withdrew to confer apart upon the problem created by their Sahib's perverted view of the consequences of his misfortune. After considerable discussion on the subject they returned, respectfully salaamed to Mr White, and one of them—as agreed between them—addressed him in the following terms:—

"*Huzoor* [Your Honour], we are deeply grieved that this great misfortune should have occurred to you, and have caused you this suffering. But your honour need have no further concern in the matter, since it has been satisfactorily arranged. Rama [his companion] and I have fully discussed how the difficulty for your honour can best be surmounted; and after deliberation we have drawn lots, and *the lot has fallen upon Rama, who will say that he did it.*"

Not only has this the merit of being a true

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

story, but any one who knows the relations which can subsist between the people and a good district officer will know that it would be inevitably true even if it had never actually happened.

In some parts of the country where British is interlaced with Indian prince's territory, the civil servant comes early into contact with the India of the old days, and the experience gained is of great value. '*L'Inde sans les Anglais*,' as every reader of Pierre Loti's book knows, is a picturesque Paradise, unspoilt by the drab efficiency of modern public works structures. Those who are familiar with both, while gladly admitting the charm of the Indian State, know that there is sometimes a reverse side to the picture. A compatriot of Pierre Loti, Maurice Pernot, himself no blind admirer of England or English colonial methods, has had the fairness to record in his book, '*Sur la route de l'Inde*,' a conversation with an Italian missionary who was working in the realms of the ruler of the largest Indian State, the Nizam of Hyderabad :—

"You have only to compare the relative prosperity of the provinces of British India proper with the precarious conditions in such autonomous Native States as this one, in which I need not lay stress upon the corruption of the State officials, exceeding here all that may be seen elsewhere, or the perpetual threat of troubles due to religious fanaticism. Such guarantees of peace, order,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and freedom as the inhabitants enjoy they owe to British control. . . . Were the English to go, all these people, left to themselves, would tear one another to pieces, and India would speedily revert to the anarchy and misery from which it has been, with such difficulty, redeemed."

Hyderabad, with which I became familiar in the period between 1897 and 1899, is an extreme case, but there is no doubt of the truth of the general proposition. Fixity of tenure is, in most Indian States, unknown; and in the great majority, even where the land system is governed by some sort of regulations, their application is understood to be subject to the occasionally arbitrary whim of the ruler. This does not imply that the subjects of Indian States are necessarily less happy than British-Indians. Happiness and prosperity are by no means interchangeable terms, and where education has not produced the divine quality of discontent, a lower grade of prosperity is quite compatible with a higher degree of contentment.

As an assistant to the Collector of Ahmedabad, I first became conscious of the existence of foreign territory in connection with Border Court cases on the British frontier abutting on southern Rajputana, a wild and jungly region among the foothills at the southern extremity of the Aravalli range. This area, in common with a considerable section of the hilly tracts in the Vindhya region and of central India, is the habitat of the Bhils,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country, and still very primitive. I was destined to know them more intimately later on, and to find them attractive childlike folk, good trackers and sportsmen, and, within certain limits, courageous fighters.

The Border Courts, however, and stories connected with these, gave me my first insight into the non-regulation administration of the backward tracts of the Indian Empire. Raids, for cattle-lifting or wife-stealing, are still part of the amusements of these simple people; and since the application to them of all the rigours of the penal code would be, for obvious reasons, stupid as well as futile, there has long prevailed a system under which, at stated intervals, the political officer on one side of the border meets the British civil servant on the other, to hear complaints and mete out a rough-and-ready justice between the conflicting parties. Complaints which in the intervening period have been received by the authorities on either side are recorded, copies being sent to the authority across the frontier; and, on the date fixed for a Border Court, the villagers on both sides concerned in the offences complained of are summoned to attend; each party under the *ægis* of its own authority. The two officials concerned then sit and hear the complainants and their witnesses, and the counter complainants with their evidence. No formal depositions

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

are recorded; but a joint report, finding, and judgment are drawn up and duly exchanged. It speaks well for the confidence which these people have in their officers that the decisions are, in practically all cases, accepted as just and satisfactory.

A scale of punishments is prescribed for all ordinary offences. The fines are graduated in accordance with the gravity of the crime in the eyes of the community. Speaking from memory, a raid resulting in the lifting of cattle frequently involved a far heavier fine than one in which one or more women were abducted. I do not recall any instance in which a heavier penalty than Rs. 50 was inflicted for any category of misdemeanour, but since the Bhils are a thriftless indigent race, inhabiting wild and unfertile tracts, a fine of Rs. 50 is a very heavy penalty to any village community.

The difficulty in assessing responsibility is often very great, not only in these Border Court cases but in many of the judicial inquiries in the more civilised areas. The commission of a serious premeditated crime, say, one of the murder of a farmer in revenge for some agrarian grievance, is not infrequently accompanied by a well-thought-out scheme designed to place the onus upon the victim. Such a case occurred in the 'eighties in the Surat District, and the bare outlines are worth recording.

There was a faction-feud of many years' stand-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ing between two sets of people belonging to the same agrarian caste. A state of feeling was reached which could only be relieved by the deliberate murder, by half a dozen members of one party, of the elderly leader of the other. Immediately after the deed was done the ring-leaders of the crime held a consultation with the other members of their party, and came to the conclusion that if they were to save themselves from the consequences something must be done to establish provocation by the enemy. Obviously adequate provocation required the death of one of their own party, and after careful deliberation, and with the full concurrence of the victim, it was decided that an old woman of their own faction must be sacrificed for the general good. The decision was carried into effect and everything was done to make the crime appear one of exceptional brutality, such, in fact, as would naturally arouse and excuse the indignant reprisals resulting in the death of the enemy's leader.

When all was ready, and the evidence in support of their story prepared, the ringleaders went off to the police station and lodged their complaint. An investigation was at once held, and the accused of the opposing faction were arrested and put on their trial. So well had the conspiracy been devised, and so complete was the evidence concocted, that the magistrate committed the case for trial, and the Sessions

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Court convicted the accused of murder, and they were duly sentenced to be hanged for the putting of the old woman to death; the complainants, for their part, successfully escaping the penalty for the original murder on the plea of self-defence.

It was only by the merest accident, and through, if I remember rightly, an anonymous petition, that the plot was discovered in the nick of time and the true story brought to light.

I had the good fortune, quite early in my service, to be posted to the political service, and thus feel that I should be in a position to form a more or less impartial opinion as to the relative wellbeing of the subjects of British India and those living in the territories of the Indian princes. But I should very much prefer to express no absolute opinion. From the points of view of fixity of tenure, impartial justice, and general prosperity it would be easy enough, and quite true, to say that British-Indian subjects are better off; also that their resources and intelligence are more steadily on the upward grade than in the case of Indian States subjects. Within the period of my own service I have seen a wonderful advance in British India in material prosperity and in powers of resistance. There are, however, other factors in the case which cannot be ignored, and which compel one to qualify his general conclusion. I have known a few Indian princes

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to be personally venerated by their subjects, who are conscious of a real sense of allegiance to their ruler and his house. This is not the result, necessarily, of efficient government or exceptional prosperity. It is more often a sense of tradition, fortified by confidence in the fairness and uprightness of the individual prince. It is, in fact, a further evidence of the value of the personal equation in India.

Perhaps the fairest way of putting the matter would be to say that, while no resident of British India—however hostile to foreign domination—would elect to be transferred to native State rule, the subjects of some Indian princes are sufficiently content with their lot to prefer not to change it. It is human to have a grievance; and the British official is liable to be misled by petitioners into the belief that their one wish is to be subjected to the impartial justice of the Sahib rather than to remain at the mercy of the oppression of their overlord. Complaints made to political officers not infrequently seek to give this impression, because the Hindu and Mahomedan—not unlike their Christian brother of Europe—are fully aware of the frailty of the human individual, and appreciate at its proper value the creation of an atmosphere.

On the other hand, one arrives at the truth when there arises a question of the rectification of a frontier; and I remember vividly the alarm and apprehension that were felt in the districts

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

abutting on the Nizam's dominions in 1892 when a scheme was under discussion for straightening the boundaries between Hyderabad and the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay Presidency. Similar fears were as forcibly expressed some years later when the question of handing back Berar to H.E.H. the Nizam was debated. No one, however prejudiced, could have doubted the reality of the terror of the inhabitants at the prospect of being handed over to the tender mercies of the Hyderabad officials. The drab efficiency and comparative absence of corruption characteristic of British rule are greatly preferred by the simple ryot to the 'picturesqueness' of the average protected State.

Lest the general conclusion which I have expressed above should be misunderstood by some of my friends among the princes, let me say at once that there is a number of these who, in my opinion, administer their States in a manner deserving of the highest praise. Some indeed have evolved a system of administration perhaps better adapted to the people than the one which we inherited and have tried to improve; and I am convinced that the subjects of a few dwell in a condition of happiness, if not of prosperity, greater than do our British-Indian subjects. This is especially true of the smaller principalities where the prince is able really to administer his realm personally, and it was a happy chance for me that I was

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

early sent to Kathiawar, where such small States abound. This province, named after the Kathis, is a peninsula off the west coast of India, about 200 miles north of Bombay, divided up into a large number of independent and semi-independent States, formerly—until we conquered the Marathas—under the suzerainty of both the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Peshwa at Poona. H.H. the Jam Sahib—Ranjitsinghi of cricketing fame—is one of the princes whose States are situated in the province. He once told me, with great delight, that a Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, who had to answer some question relating to the province, once stated, in answer to a supplementary question, that " Kathiawar was a morass in Central India, chiefly inhabited by wild asses." I have not verified the question in Hansard, lest it should prove to be not quite correct.

As I had been attached to the staff of Sir Charles Ollivant, Agent to the Governor, for six months in 1891, I was despatched there in 1892 by Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay, upon my first independent diplomatic mission—a mission which had its distinctly humorous side.

The Portuguese dependency of Diu is a tiny island off the Kathiawar coast, and is governed by a distinguished Portuguese official, sent out from Lisbon, who is entitled to be addressed as His Excellency. Now the water supply of Diu

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is inadequate, and a practice had grown up of obtaining daily supplies by boat from a well on the mainland within the boundary of the State of His Highness the Nawab of Junagadh. This led to incidents between the Junagadh subjects and the people from Diu, and as reprisals to obstruction the Portuguese authorities rashly utilised gunboats to fire upon the fishing fleet of the Junagadh villages, causing them damage and pecuniary loss. The Bombay Government had to despatch a gunboat to protect the latter, and an acute international situation arose bristling with aggravations and charges on both sides.

It was to hold an inquiry, straighten out the tangle, and present a report that I was despatched to the spot. I established myself, with one clerk, at Verawal, on the coast near Diu, and summoned the Junagadh State complainants, at the same time politely inviting H.E. the Governor to come and state his case or depute some subordinate to do so.

His Excellency took no notice whatever, which did not surprise me, so I had to hold my inquiry *ex parte*. The inquiry itself is of no special interest; but, in the course of the investigations, I had to point out to the Junagadh local official how he had failed to observe the proper procedure in representing the complaint. Now, since all Indian States are represented by us in their foreign relations, his proper course was to report

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to his Durbar, who would report to the Government of Bombay, who would make representations to the Portuguese Government at Marmagoa, who would ask for a report from His Excellency the Governor at Diu; and this misguided Junagadh official had shortcircuited all this beautiful procedure by addressing remonstrances, in anything but diplomatic language, to the Governor of Diu direct. I succeeded eventually in making clear to him the monstrous nature of his offence, and as a last excuse for his mistaken activities he observed: "But, Sahib, how was I to know? All that I knew was that my pay is Rs. 400 a month, while the pay of His Excellency the Governor is only Rs. 300 a month, so naturally I thought I could treat him as an equal."

It is a grave handicap that we can know so little of the intricacies of the caste system and its implications. Those who achieve a degree of intimacy with our Indian friends do, by slow stages, come to understand some of its complexities; but our general aloofness from it entails the commission of innumerable errors, some of which have serious consequences. I will only cite one instance here. Being in very close and friendly relations with one of the Maratha princes, he one day asked me how I could explain the nomination of X. to the statutory Civil Service. Now X. was a Brahmin of charming manners and good education who

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

conformed to the conditions sought for, and who, therefore, was regarded as an eminently suitable selection to inaugurate the Indianisation of the I.C.S. In some surprise I therefore asked what there was against him. The reply was: "But surely you have noticed the caste-mark he wears?" As this was a particularly striking and somewhat unusual one, I admitted that I had noticed it. "But do you not know what it denotes?" said my friend, and I had to admit that I had assumed vaguely that it denoted some particular class of Brahmin. He then explained that it denoted that X. had been dedicated in his youth to a temple.

Even then, in my ignorance, I did not see the implication; but if my interlocutor was correct the consequence was that X. could never, at any stage, and whatever rank he might rise to, live down the fact. Now, obviously, I was learning something which ought to have been—nay, in the eyes of Hindus, must have been—plain to the authorities who selected X. It is equally obvious that the Government's advisers were ignorant and blundered badly. Other instances of our want of familiarity with facts relevant to a true understanding could be cited, and it is evident that the decisions and acts of the Sarkar must occasionally be a curious puzzle to those who are affected. If I had my time over again, and could commence with the accumulated realisation of our want of knowledge of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

inner lives and thoughts of our Indian fellow-subjects, I feel that I might make a really valuable contribution to the problem of that closer understanding which it is so essential we should cultivate.

It will perhaps be recalled, at all events by most of those who then served in India, that the first outbreak of epidemic plague occurred in Bombay in 1897, during Lord Sandhurst's régime. Ignorance of the causation of, and proper methods of combating, plague was as profound then as it was in the case of malaria in 1887 when I first arrived in India.

'Combating' is the *mot juste* for expressing the conception of what should be done. With the best intentions in the world a campaign was started which included—in infected quarters of the city of Bombay, and later in Poona—an invasion of the dwelling-houses and rigorous methods for their disinfection, occasionally extending to demolition.

The first outbreak ran its seasonal course (though we did not then know anything about seasonal courses) of some three months, and subsided. It was assumed that it had been—as the expression then ran—'stamped out.' It would be amusing, were it not rather tragic, to recall that the Home Department of the Government of India after this first outbreak—with a view to furnishing to the world guidance for action should it break out elsewhere—

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

decided to publish 'A History of the Plague in India.' It was duly written—in four volumes. Possibly my own four copies are the only copies extant outside the Government Record Offices—I hope so. Nine months later occurred a second and worse outbreak, which this time extended to Poona, and later to many other places, finally embracing the whole country. In the second year of its incidence in Poona, then a town of about 120,000, at the height of the epidemic there were 400 deaths a day.

The plague operations were not only ineffective but exceedingly unpopular, and created an undercurrent of discontent most favourable for the dissemination of political disaffection. Full advantage of the opportunity was seized by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Tilak was a Brahmin of the Chitpáwan sect, one of the most virile and intelligent races in India. I had, when serving in the Ratnagiri District, visited the hill near Chiplún where is alleged to have taken place the burning and purification by the god Vishnu of the fourteen bodies of shipwrecked barbarians, and had there learned the legend of their translation into Brahmins.[1] But it was a good many years later that I learned how Chitpáwans were regarded by other educated Brahmins and by other castes.

In particular, a very able barrister, Mr Sit-

[1] *Note.*—For a fuller account see chap. v. pp. 37-39 of 'Indian Unrest' by Sir Valentine Chirol (Macmillan).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

árám Pandit, whom I was fortunate enough to get to know very well, furnished me with some interesting comments.

Mr Sitárám Pandit, for many years leader of the Bar in the province of Kathiawar, was a Shenvi [1] by caste, had been very well educated on western lines, and, while still preserving to the full his pride of race and caste, was a thorough man of the world. He not infrequently came to dine at the Residency with me in 1908 and 1909, and was a charming and most interesting companion, compact of the lore of the heterogeneous races that make up the population of the Western Presidency. As regards the various sects of Brahmins he readily agreed in my opinion that the Chitpáwans were the ablest of all and the best administrators.

"But," he added, "they are, of course, not Hindus at all." He then referred to the Chiplún legend, with the comment that the founders of the sect must, in reality, have been a ship's crew of Scandinavian Vikings driven round the Cape to the west coast of India by the south-west monsoon. He fortified his argument by quotation from Sir H. Risley's Census Report of 1901, with its references to, and deductions from, cephalological measurements; and relied, as he contended conclusively, on the prevalence among Chitpávans of straight features, pale complexions, and blue eyes. But, characteris-

[1] See Appendix A. The Shenvis claim Brahminical status.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tically enough, what was in his mind the most definite proof of non-Hindu origin was the manner in which Chitpávans, in the persons of the Peshwas, by ousting the Maratha descendants of Shiváji and assuming the kingship, had flouted the Shástras (Hindu scriptures) and the teachings of Manu. Nothing can be more definite on the subject of the duties and the limitation to the ambition of Brahmins than the teachings of the Shástras. A Brahmin should be a minister only, and cannot and must not aspire to the throne.

All this, of course, one knew in a general way. But it was instructive to learn that it was so strongly the conviction of other sects that in deposing the Maratha sovereigns the Chitpávan ministers had transgressed. Still more instructive was it to learn that, in the minds of many, the claim to Brahminical status was jeopardised by such transgression. Pandit, with his wide reading and catholic outlook on things, maintained that the pride and dominating characteristic of the Chitpávans pointed to an alien origin, and that the hereditary traits disclosed in their conduct justified the belief, supported by featural peculiarities, that they were descended from the all-invading adventurers from Scandinavia. I remember discussing these views with Mr G. K. Gokhale—himself a Chitpávan,—and while, of course, critical of the source from which I drew my suggestions, he was not, I

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

think, inclined to dispute their truth. He did, indeed, hint that one cause of the unpopularity of the Chitpávans among other Brahminical sects was jealousy, and I have no doubt that it is so.

So far as my own observation has gone—and I have known Chitpávans over a very wide area in the Deccan and the central provinces—I am disposed to the belief that, whatever their origin, they are not only, by heredity, the most forceful and dominant race among the Brahmins of India, but also that they possess, in a higher degree than any others, the clannishness of caste. Their internal organisation and discipline is peculiarly strong, and partakes almost of the nature of a secret society.

It may be recalled that discontent, sedulously fanned into unrest in part by the citation of hardships suffered as a result of the plague and the fight against plague, led to the murder of two officers—Lieutenant Ayerst and Mr Rand—in Poona in 1897, and that this discontent developed into a caste conspiracy to murder, about ten years later, Mr Jackson at Nasik. It became clear, in the ensuing investigations, that the conspiracy was a Chitpávan caste plot, unquestionably deplored by the great majority of Chitpávan Brahmins, but one nevertheless most difficult to detect because of the impossibility for any member of the caste, however well disposed, and however well informed, to come forward and give evidence.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I was told by a distinguished member of this caste that, even had he known beforehand of all the ramifications of the plot and the intentions of the plotters, he would have found it unthinkable to give information.

Now it is, of course, easy to condemn a whole clan and to hold them up to obloquy *en bloc* in such circumstances. But nothing could be more unfair. It is perfectly true, and I think also not altogether inexplicable, that the Chitpávan Brahmins, conscious of their great ability and of their inherent capacity for rule, look upon us, the destroyers of their kingly authority, with disfavour. It is not true, however, that all, or even a majority of them, would conspire against us. Given an opportunity, or a pretext, such as was offered by the temporary unpopularity of certain administrative measures, and given further the development among the youth of India educated on the lines then in force, and still largely prevalent, of an outlook uninfluenced by any moral training or discipline, and it should be no matter for surprise that an unbalanced section of the more degenerate members of the clan should have evolved a murderous plot.

It would be out of place for me to enter at length here upon that most difficult problem of education in India, though I may have something to say on the subject when I come to a later stage of these reminiscences; moreover,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

this too has been so admirably done already by Sir Valentine Chirol in chapter xvii. of his 'Indian Unrest' that there is little scope for useful comment. But it is legitimate to urge that, with the knowledge that should be ours of the conditions governing Indian social life and affecting the youth of India, we have no excuse for being surprised at, or resentful of, certain consequences following certain causes. As observed before, some at least of our difficulties are attributable to our want of familiarity with the thoughts, feelings, and customs of the very varied groups of races and people for whose wellbeing we have undertaken responsibility.

Before leaving the subject of caste and its organisation, it may be useful to mention another factor of importance. One would naturally fancy that the caste committees, or managing bodies, would largely consist of the older, wiser, and more experienced members, as in the case, for example, of the more formally constituted 'Jama'ats' of the various sects of Islam. Such is, however, becoming less and less the actual state of affairs. I know one very high-caste Brahmin and eminent administrator whose official obligation called him across the sea to London. It is doubtless well known that to cross the black water involved, in former days, ejection from many of the higher castes. It is, however, perhaps not so well known that this penalty

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is not automatic, and that it is open to the committee of any caste to waive it if the circumstances justify it; in point of fact, until recently, for reasons which will appear, the penalty was usually waived almost as a matter of course, with or without some ceremonial of purification. In the case of my friend, however, the out-casting was insisted upon.

The reason, as he told me, was that, precisely on the analogy of what has sometimes happened in some of our trade unions, the younger and extremist elements of the caste were beginning to seize upon power and were able to influence policy. Since about 1904 the cry of the *intransigeants*, largely recruited from the University product, has been "India for the Indians"; and Ghandi's ideal was only the ultimate expression of a policy which aimed at closing Hindustán to all western elements and influences. Such a policy quite logically discourages travel to the West in whatever cause, and the action of a caste committee, influenced by the youth of the community, in imposing the full penalty is thus readily understood.

What is hard for the average Englishman to appreciate is the gravity of the consequences that ensue. To be out-casted not only carries with it a social or communal stigma, but entails practical difficulties of a very cruel kind. Indians may only marry either into their own or into certain other specified castes. (In the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

case of Rajputs they may not marry within their own *gotra*.[1]) A man who is out-casted carries his children with him into the outer darkness, and those children cannot be married to any one at all. Nor can he and his family meet any one at meals. In effect, a man who is out-casted literally dies—in the Hindu sense,—since his race cannot be perpetuated.

Sometimes there may occur such differences of opinion within the caste over a question of this character that no accommodation is possible. In that event there may result a schism of the caste itself, leading to the creation of a new sub-caste. This has happened in the Bhátya caste in connection with this very question of travelling. This community, which is one of the trading castes, is now split into two sections, one of which approves of travel, or at least permits it; the other prohibits it absolutely. As the Bhátyas are already a somewhat restricted community, only permitting marriage within its own ranks, this is a grave misfortune, while from the point of view of commercial prosperity the section which has barred travelling must inevitably suffer materially in the long-run.

My excuse for such a lengthy reference to some of the intricacies of caste is that the caste system is one of the most difficult factors in the problem of Indian administration. Without exaggeration it may be described as complicating every

[1] Caste division.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

function of government. Nor is it comparable to the social distinctions of any other country. I am sure that Mr Ramsay MacDonald will forgive my illustrating this point by an occurrence in my house in Bombay when he was staying with us. I had asked Sir Nárayenrao Chandárvarkar (then a judge of the High Court in Bombay), His Highness the Aga Khan, and the ruling Prince of the Limbdi State to meet him at dinner, and afterwards the conversation turned on caste and the difficulties it presented to social reformers, among whom Sir Nárayenrao is one of the most energetic. Mr MacDonald intervened with the remark that he did not see that caste, as a social barrier, was any more potent in India than in Europe—especially England; adding, "Do you suppose that, if I were not a Member of Parliament, I should now be sitting, after dining with them, in the Claude Hills' drawing-room?" To which Sir Nárayenrao replied—"Your illustration, Mr MacDonald, brings out most effectively the radical difference between the two conditions; because here, if you really belonged to an inferior caste, you might be fifty times a Member of Parliament but you would never dine in my company."

Yet despite all the difficulties—perhaps because of all the difficulties—the life of an administrator in India is fascinating. No one who has closely associated and become well acquainted with Indians—whether Brahmins,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rajputs, Sikhs, Mahomedans, Marwaris, Banyas, or the innumerable varieties of the tillers of the soil—can fail to be attracted by them. Cynics will maintain that the attractive quality which they all share—namely, a kindly and grateful remembrance of all British officials with whom they have had relations—partakes of the nature of a lively sense of favours to come. I know that this is not generally true, for I have many experiences of the friendly memory which they entertain in circumstances in which it is wholly impossible that material advantage should enter into the sentiment. I know, too, from my own experience that if one has been fortunate enough to be of real service to them, they in their turn can be relied upon for loyal help.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER III.

WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

CONSULE, LORD ELGIN, 1895-97.

FROM the post of Under-Secretary to the Government of Bombay, which I held from 1892-95, during which period I learned something of the internal structure of the machine which governs provincial India, I was, in 1895, promoted to be Under-Secretary in the Home Department of the Government of India. At that time the glamour created by Kipling's 'Departmental Ditties' and 'Plain Tales from the Hills' still clung to the Himalayan slopes; but my wife and I were to find that the highly respectable atmosphere pervading the Elgin régime had converted Simla into a much less exciting spot than tradition led one to anticipate. Mrs Hawksbee indeed was still there, as were also some other types from the 'Plain Tales'; but sojourn amongst, and contact with, them brought home the realisation that their prominence and influence were less formidable than was ex-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pected. Simla was, it is true, then, as it must ever have been, a very pleasant place socially, where all sorts and conditions of men and women are to be found, most of the former exceedingly busy, not to say heavily overworked, while the latter, of whom many were temporary refugees from the lurid heat of the plains of Upper India, with, consequently, few duties and preoccupations, tended to create an impression of careless frivolity which was responsible for Simla's legendary reputation.

An Under-Secretary is, however, an obscure person, with a minimum of gold upon his breeks, and his salary, if he is a married man, is so inadequate to his needs that, even if he had the leisure for frivolity, he would be effectually restrained from excessive indulgence in the lighter side of Simla life. I was fortunate in having Sir John Hewett as my Chief, just as I had been most fortunate in having Sir William Lee-Warner as Secretary in Bombay; for these two, in their several ways, were, I think, among the ablest men serving in India during my sojourn there. But service under a good man means hard work, since it is the "good man who understands how to get the maximum out of his subordinates," and, with the exception of the period which I later spent in the Foreign Office during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty and the war period, 1914-18, I think my terms as Under-Secretary were the most exacting of my life.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

India, in the 'nineties of the last century, was, of course, governed on essentially bureaucratic lines, and a bureaucracy has a bad name. It may be ill taking up the cudgels on behalf of a dog that has since been partially hung, but since this dog, during his heyday, did manage to maintain peace and order in our Eastern Empire, it is, I think, due to his memory, if not to shed a tear, at least to record one meritorious aspect of his labours which impressed itself on me in the Home Office.

At that pre-Curzon period the Home Office administered education, the sanitation and medical services, and such special subjects as pilgrimages, &c., as well as the judicial, police, local self-government, factory, and prison departments of the country, and the control over provincial governments was far closer and more meticulous than it is now. This meant that practically all legislative proposals, provincial or imperial, passed through and were most carefully studied by the Home Office. Again, every provincial project for legislation required, at that time, the previous approval of the Government of India. A casual glance at the Indian statutes, imperial and provincial, of any one year will give some notion of the immense volume of work involved in this portion alone of the Department's activities. In addition to this, the Home Department, as the final authority on all matters pertaining to local self-government,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

examined all municipal and local board regulations, not only for British India but also for administered areas outside British India, such as cantonments and civil stations in the territories of the protected princes of India.

In spite of the mass of work thus entailed, it is quite safe to say that in no country in the world was such care taken: firstly, to elicit such public opinion as was articulate and to secure the benefit of all local knowledge; and secondly, to see that no religious or racial prejudices would be adversely or unfairly affected by a proposed law. In the result, while the mills of the Government of India usually ground slowly, they ground exceedingly small. In every case of doubt a second and even third reference was made to the authorities qualified to advise, and it can be successfully maintained that any resultant measure, as it emerged in the legislative arena, had been submitted to the most searching tests, and was in a shape dictated solely by the best consideration of the interests of the public service and people. I have not seen the point anywhere commented upon, but I feel that it is worth while to emphasise it here, that, during the past ten years of sometimes venomous, and always acute, criticism of the Government of India and all its works, there has been no attempt to attack the general governmental machine as established by the legislation of a hundred years. The land-revenue

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

system, the scheme of local self-government, the public health and factory legislation, the prison system as established by law—even the educational system as built up in the various provincial and imperial enactments—have remained unassailed, inviolate, and four-square to a self-governing India which has thus tacitly admitted that they are good. Many assaults have been directed against special and emergency legislation, and some against one form of fiscal legislation, but of the government of the country as established by our laws there have been practically no complaints.

This seems to me a fact upon which the English in India may well plume themselves, and of which future historians will take particular note. And the credit is due, partially at least, to the impersonal industry and public-spirited devotion of a long succession of Home Department officials, including the clerical staff, Hindu and Mahomedan alike. I well remember the meticulous care bestowed upon one subject. The Venice Sanitary Convention required that we in India should frame a complicated series of regulations relating to pilgrimages, of which the most important overseas was the annual Islamic pilgrimage to the Hedjaz, *via* Jeddah, on the eastern Red Sea littoral. The Pilgrim Ships' Act had to be brought up to date, and the regulations made to conform to the Convention's requirements. The whole subject had to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

be gone into with a small-tooth comb, in consultation with Port Officers, Protectors of Pilgrims, and the shipping and sanitary authorities generally; and I understand that in the result our Indian regulations (and, I may add, the method of their administration) were regarded more or less as a model. For, curiously enough, I was destined many years later (in 1921), when in charge of the League of Red Cross Societies, to have as my councillor in Public Health the greatly distinguished Italian health expert, Professor Rocco Santoliquido, who was the main inspiration of the Conference at Venice which, in the 'nineties of last century, drew up, promulgated, and caused to be accepted by all Governments the Sanitary Convention.

Frontier warfare, like the poor, was always with us in those days, and it was during my first year as Under-Secretary that I met Sir Robert Low—later to be Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army. The relief of Chitral was one phase of the Malakand expedition, and Captain (now General) Beynon, who so distinguished himself on the march to Chitral, afterwards spent a brief period at Army Headquarters. Sir Robert Low, as every one knows, was a Mutiny veteran, and had been on General Barnard's staff at the siege of Delhi; and I had the extraordinary good-fortune in 1903 when he, as Bombay Commander-in-Chief, was a guest in Lord Northcote's camp at Lord

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Curzon's great Durbar at Delhi, to be taken over the whole of the ground occupied by the besieging force, and to be shown on the spot the plans made for each of the assaults. Metcalf House, Flagstaff Tower, the Ridge, and Kashmir Gate become more of a living reality when brought, *in situ*, into a living narrative of one of the most remarkable feats in military history.

History—and especially military history—is apt to repeat itself; and the criticisms of Army Headquarters in 1895 of undue interference with commanders in the field was nothing new then, and probably had no very special justification. The Government of India had the habit at all events of muddling through, and can claim to have been fairly efficient in managing their lesser frontier troubles.

In those days Calcutta was the cold-weather home of the Government of India, and a very pleasant home too for the five good months of the year. It is amusing to recall how the Calcutta residents of those days, both official and non-official, affected to be bored rather than otherwise by the incursion of the Viceroy, his Council, and the various offices of Government. Though nothing could be pleasanter than the friendly hospitality given, the impression was effectively, if politely, conveyed that we rather disturbed the pleasant tenor of Calcutta's social ways. At the same time, I think commercial Calcutta was fully aware that it derived some very tangible

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

advantages from the cold-weather invasion of the supreme Government. And commercial Calcutta was right. Not only does the advent of several thousand persons of all grades of itself bring a certain amount of grist to a business community, but the metropolitan status which was conferred thereby unquestionably created a political bias in favour of the capital on the Hooghly. I can perhaps speak more impartially than most people who have contributed to the question of the transfer of the capital to Delhi, and I have no hesitation whatever in asserting that, however insensibly, the residence of the Government of India in Calcutta led to very material preference in various directions. Questions relating to railway communications, where other interests competed, were inevitably, in case of doubt, decided favourably to a *de facto* capital. Preference was naturally and rightly given to Calcutta in matters connected with national memorials. And it is probable that, however desirous to achieve impartiality, where there were competing claims by different provinces for grants from the Imperial Treasury, whether for education, medical aid, or other purposes, the province housing the Viceroy would clamour most vocally and with the greatest chance of success.

The heat of the controversy which raged so long and so bitterly over the transfer, in 1912, of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi has now

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

cooled down. It is, moreover, idle at a time when the new city in Delhi has actually been completed to rake up the embers of the past. But it may not be without interest to recall some of the factors which caused that transfer to appear wise. The factors were real. It is probably still permissible to argue that they were not of such vital importance as to justify the large expenditure which the change involved; but I personally think that, when one is dealing with a country so complex as India, the question of cost is immaterial when balanced against inter-provincial grievances. And it is not irrelevant to say that many, who like myself would infinitely have preferred the delights and amenities of Calcutta, were convinced that by severance therefrom we had, for the first time, broken with a tie which did inevitably result in partiality.

Not that I wish it to be supposed that, for the junior officers of the Government, residence in Calcutta was all to the good. Even for members of Council and other such eminent and reverend persons house-room was difficult to find. For an Under-Secretary it meant financial embarrassment, which in my own case crippled for twenty years. But—it was worth it. Bombay has many amenities, including a pack of fox-hounds, which give admirable sport twice a week on the island of Salsette. Bombay also has, for those whose misguided tastes lie that way, a harbour and the open sea, on which you

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

may yacht or fish. And the country surrounding Bombay is all beautiful, fulfilling one's preconceived notions of what Indian scenery should be, while some places are interesting from the archæologist's and historian's point of view. Calcutta has fewer of these advantages, and yet possesses, for the Englishman abroad, much more. I do not refer to the paper-chasing, or to the grass tennis courts, or to the shipping on the Hooghly, sometimes reminiscent of the Mersey or even the Port of London. Nor is it specifically any one thing that one can seize upon and say "This is why I like Calcutta so much." It is rather that it has an atmosphere composite of a wide-stretching green *maidan* (park) wooded with umbrageous trees; golf-courses with green greens; ugly stucco houses with an outward appearance of homeliness; luxurious race-stands crammed with more fellow-countrymen than can be got together anywhere overseas save in Australia; and a modern city, whose shops and business houses might lie respectively in the neighbourhood of Regent or Gracechurch Streets. All this goes to give Calcutta in the cold weather a semblance of England; and one might sum all up by saying that while the Englishman, wherever he goes, takes his ideal England with him, in Calcutta he almost finds it materialised. And if the English there are mostly Scotch, is it not all the same?

To me, a civilian from another province, it

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was curious to note a very marked difference in Bengal in the matter of relations between Indians and British. One was conscious almost immediately of an unaccustomed atmosphere. It was possible there to go through a Calcutta season without holding converse with any Indian other than one's office staff; and there seemed in effect to be a wider gulf fixed between European and Indian than in any other part of India. This impression was soon confirmed. The difference has its root and explanation in two main facts. In the first place, owing to the land settlement effected by Lord Cornwallis, under which the revenue levied from land-owners was fixed in perpetuity, the revenue officials in Bengal have no occasion to travel through their charges, as has to be done in other provinces, investigating conditions, settling disputes and disposing of applications of all kinds, and petitions for remission of rent. Consequently the Bengal civilian has not the same opportunities of contact with the people as present themselves elsewhere. He is in fact a rent collector and magistrate only, and has no opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the ryot. In the second place, the Bengali has not, in the past, shown that initiative in and aptitude for business of a big kind which are so marked a characteristic of some of the Hindu castes and Mahomedan sects, as well as of the Parsees, in some other parts of India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It follows that the Indian, in the capital of Bengal, unless he were one of the large zemindars (land-owners), fell automatically into a position of official and social subordination and inferiority. With the exception of more or less formal intercourse with such people as the Maharaja of Burdwán and the Cooch-Behár family, there was, at the period of which I am writing, practically no social intercourse between the races, while the civil servant was less acquainted with or interested in the rural population than was his *confrère* in other provinces.

It would be easy here to write a scathing indictment of the Permanent Settlement, showing how it had encouraged infeudation, stifled enterprise, enriched the few at the cost of the many, created an unoccupied idle class of landlords, and deprived the community of a legitimate increase of revenue which could have been most advantageously devoted to education, sanitation, and other works of public improvement. By common admission the policy which Lord Cornwallis adopted was a catastrophe of the first magnitude. But a bureaucratic government of Bengal could not in honour redress the evil of its own creation, since this would have involved the breach of a solemn undertaking. By conferring representative government on the provinces, however, we have taken a step which places it in the power, and at the discretion, of the people of Bengal themselves to rectify the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

error. Naturally there will be serious opposition. The dead weight of vested interests, accumulated over a century, is appalling. The shibboleth of 'fixity of tenure and rent' is a plausible one. And the influence of the landlord class, sheltered so long from either responsibility or criticism, is very powerful. The task of revising the revenue system in Bengal is herculean, and will require courage and determination; but it is bound to be undertaken. With the possible exception of China, there is probably no civilised country in the world to-day which possesses a class privileged as is the Bengal zemindar under the settlement. His contribution to the exchequer is wholly inadequate to the protection and privileges which he enjoys, while, with honourable exceptions, the part he plays in the public service is negligible. For many years other provinces were indirectly contributing towards the cost of public administration in Bengal, and the demands, becoming more and more insistent, for improvements of all kinds can hardly be discharged until a larger contribution to the public funds is exacted from the principal beneficiaries.

It is, however, the influence of these conditions upon the relations between British and Indian which constitutes the most interesting problem. The system of revenue administration and periodic settlement revision, coupled (over a large proportion of British India) with peasant

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

proprietorship, has been the vital link between the alien British and the indigenous population. It is hardly too much to say that the British revenue officer, wherever close contact has been maintained, has been the rock upon which agricultural India has leant. The peace and contentment of India have been assured by the cementing friendship and confidence which have been engendered as a result of a century of just and benevolent dealing. Sedition, locally fomented here and there, has from time to time disturbed the placid surface of the continent; but the great mass of the agricultural population is persuaded that its interests are on the whole in safe keeping, and is anxious to avoid disturbance. This fact explains why, during the periods of political excitement from 1904 onwards, the chief centres of active disaffection have been in Bengal, where there is not the close contact with and confidence in the district officials. There have been agrarian troubles here and there in other provinces—in the Central Provinces, in the Kaira district of the Bombay Presidency, and in other places; but nowhere, outside Bengal, has there been continuity of extremist agitation with a real backing by a proportion of the rural population. The existence of a large class of sharers in the profits from the land, resulting from the infeudation of the estates assessed under the Permanent Settlement, furnishes the idle material, too proud to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

work and too poor to be satisfied, essential to the perpetuation of seditious propaganda. And the great majority of that class have hardly come into contact with an Englishman at all outside the courts of law.

The same endeavours to create political discontent were made in other provinces by propagandists at least as able as those of Bengal, but they failed because there was not the same raw material available. Given an absence of unjust oppression and it is only the idle, unemployed, and unemployable who will lend themselves, willing agents, to the anarchist, unless indeed a real national spirit is evoked; and at the time of which I am speaking, nationalism for India at large was only a catchword on the lips of the very few. Only a few years later the scheme for the Partition of Bengal was to serve as the nucleus of a campaign for the rights of India as a nation, but in 1895 the idea had not yet been born, though it was probably even then stirring in the mind of Sir Andrew Fraser, who was shortly to come to Calcutta as Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

It is always interesting to try to trace one's way back to first causes. More than a hundred years earlier a system had been introduced into the teeming province of Bengal which divorced the British ruler from close contact with the ruled, and at the same time laid the foundations of a huge class of unemployed, who drew their

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

support and maintenance from a money interest in the proceeds of agriculture. The economic consequences, like the social consequences, could not be foreseen, though to us looking back, with our acquaintance with actual events, it is clear that the absence of contact between British and Indians, and the growth of a mass of unoccupied persons whose resources diminished as their numbers increased, were bound to lead to trouble, both economic and political. Though the trouble had not manifested itself overtly when I first went to Calcutta, the premonitory symptoms were beginning to show. There was a very marked distinction between the bearing of the average Indian towards the European in the streets of Calcutta and his attitude whether in Bombay, Delhi, Poona, or the United Provinces. And, to be quite frank, the converse also is equally true. One was definitely conscious of being disliked—and the consciousness was to me, at all events, something in the nature of a shock.

Readers of ' A Passage to India ' will be misled if they infer that its implications are true all over the country. Of Bengal—and probably of Behar, which used to form part of that province —they are, alas! accurate enough. And it seems abundantly clear that the aloofness from one another, occasioned as I have described, bred the misunderstandings which led to mutual distrust.

I have probably devoted a disproportionate

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

space to my impressions of Bengal in 1895-97, and I am quite aware that my comments may be open to challenge in some particulars. I have been moved to give them here because, after all, Bengal has been largely the pivot of India's rapid political evolution, even if she has not been actually the seed-bed from which have been transplanted to other provinces the seedlings of the Swaraj plant. The horticultural simile may, indeed, in the light of later experience, be pursued a little farther. The seed-bed was situated in a hot-house, and a hot-house is not the best nursery for a plant which should be hardy enough to weather the open-air storms. There was little enough that was constructive, though abundance of what was destructive, in the intellectual atmosphere of Bengal; and, if the qualities of the Bengal plant had not been hybridised from the hardier growth of other provinces, there would have been even weightier cause for hesitation in introducing the liberalising reforms of 1919.

My early experiences of the Government of India were not confined to the Home Department. A three months' vacancy occurred in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, of which Sir Denzil Ibbetson was at the time Secretary, and I was fortunate enough to step into the vacancy before leaving Simla to take up the appointment of Assistant to the Resident in Hyderabad. The insight which those three

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

months afforded me into the varieties of Revenue systems and land tenures in different parts of India was of inestimable value to me later. It may, indeed, be said that the chief value of an early experience of work in the Imperial Secretariat lay in the awakening it afforded to the limitless variety of races, sects, languages, traditions, and methods of administration which prevail on the Indian continent. When this is appreciated there is justification for amazement at the self-confidence of those who, after a few casual visits to India—sometimes even after a single cold-weather tour,—have the hardihood to publish dissertations on the Indian problem. The problems are legion, and the conditions so multifarious that one is tempted to feel that, with much that was good and indeed necessary in the grandmotherly centralisation of administrative control in the Central Government, there has ensued as a consequence too great a tendency to regard conditions everywhere as sufficiently uniform to justify parallel treatment. As an example, over a long series of years there raged a paper war between the land revenue authorities in Bombay and the Agricultural Department of the Government of India as to the methods adopted in surveying districts for periodical revisions of the land tax. There was much good in both systems; and it may even be conceded that the one in force in Upper India, strongly urged by Simla upon the Govern-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment of Bombay, was the better of the two. The simple fact, however, was that it did not fit in with the provincial administrative system. In that instance the pressure from on high was successfully resisted, but much paper was wasted and a deplorable amount of heat was generated. Not until Lord Curzon's time did recognition come of the advantages of personal conferences and investigations on the spot. Recognising the risk of error inherent in undiluted secretariat criticism, he introduced the principle of imperial inspectors-general, whose business was, in matters at issue between the Central and Provincial Governments, to confer with the latter and advise the former. The result was very soon apparent. Local conditions and local susceptibilities were recognised and allowed for, and the misunderstandings arising from bigotry on both sides were tactfully set aside. Of greater moment, however, was the development in the Government of India of a new view-point. The business of a secretariat the world over is to criticise, and it is but a step from criticism to opposition. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, in the 'nineties of last century, any proposal submitted by a provincial government was assumed to be wrong, this view being often supported and maintained because the suggestions were at variance with what obtained in some other province. If there happened to be an experienced and wise head of the department

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

concerned, the assumption was discounted; but not until a good many years later was it the practice to reflect that a local government might perhaps be right.

The point I wish to make is, however, this. Bureaucratic India had an inevitable trend towards uniformity. India, on the other hand, is racially, physically, climatically, linguistically, agriculturally, socially, and politically multiform. There was a real risk that, if the bureaucratic system were carried on too long, self-expression and self-development upon suitable lines would be cramped and stunted. Differences, reflecting in some instances the peculiar genius of a particular race, were liable to be obscured. A benevolent despotism can become a very real blight, and material prosperity can be maintained at the cost of what is much more precious —namely, the self-realisation of the genius of particular races. A dead-level of efficiency and prosperity is, in the long-run, liable to be incompatible with the full development of the spiritual side of a people.

Precisely owing to the diversity of the different provinces of India from which were drawn the superior officers of the departments of the Government of India, the process towards a dead-level of uniformity was slower than, in similar conditions, elsewhere in the world. The process was, however, perceptibly in operation, as I know was felt by a good many of us. Alleviatory

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

measures, such as the resort to the travelling inspecting officers, retarded the process, and the extraordinary variety of the problems and interests presented by Indian life would in any case explain the postponement of sterilisation. Yet to my mind the conclusion is that, political agitation apart, government in India had, before 1914, reached a stage where some vivifying change was necessary; and when I come to the years immediately preceding the war, I shall be able to show that this view was held by Lord Sydenham and Lord Willingdon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN POLITICAL SERVICE.

HYDERABAD, 1897-1899; UDAIPUR, 1906-1908: A CONTRAST.

I WAS extraordinarily fortunate in the diversity of my experience in the early years of my service. Within ten years of arrival in India I had not only undergone the usual regulation district routine, but also had an initiation, in Kathiawar, into the political service. In Bombay I had learned in the secretariat the rudiments of the administration of the judicial, police, and legislative departments, and in the Home and Revenue Offices of the Government of India had gained some knowledge of the work of all the executive departments of government. I was now destined again to take up, in the political service of the Government of India, in a wider field, the acquaintance with the Indian Princes which I had begun in Kathiawar in 1890. Two years (1897-99) in Hyderabad were to be followed, after an interval as Private Secretary to Lord

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Northcote in Bombay, by nine months as Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Office (under Lord Curzon), nine months as Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and then (after a breakdown in health) nearly two years at Udaipur and four years as Agent to the Governor of Bombay (Lord Sydenham) in Kathiawar. So that I can claim to have a fairly comprehensive and varied acquaintance with the administration of their States by our allies the princes of India.

Though I had a somewhat tempestuous and in-and-out career in the Political Department, my appointment to Hyderabad in 1897 unquestionably opened to me a far wider experience of India and Indian affairs than would ever have been my lot had I returned direct from Simla to the regular line of service in the Bombay Presidency, and, looking back, I am duly grateful.

Hyderabad at that time was an exceedingly interesting place. The then Nizam was a clever but curious personality; very suspicious and jealous of his dignity; quite incapable, even had he been desirous, of bringing the antiquated and involved system which he had inherited into anything like the state of efficiency which was then gradually becoming a feature of a good many Indian States. The Resident was Sir Chichele Plowden, an able man but with no very wide experience in administration. The

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Minister in office in my time was Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, a charming, very well-intentioned, and honourable member of one of the three hereditary ministerial families of Hyderabad, struggling hopelessly with every kind of difficulty, opposition, and corruption. The inefficiency of the administration was appalling, and the growing burden of debt was becoming insupportable, while the exactions and oppression of most of the officials were creating an atmosphere of serious discontent. All these conditions were shortly to receive the attention of Lord Curzon, but that time was not yet. In the meanwhile the lot of the Nizam's Prime Minister was not enviable. His Highness, though accessible to every tale-bearer in his dominions, was exceedingly difficult of access by his responsible adviser.

The Nizam's hours were highly irregular. He would send for Sir Vikar-ul-Umra at 11 P.M., or possibly 2 A.M., and then retire to bed, and keep the Minister waiting for twenty-four or forty-eight hours, only to dismiss him unseen, and probably starving, at the end of that time. Although far too intelligent to give full credence to the stories brought to him by office-seekers (*i.e.*, all those lacking office at the moment) he thought it politic to incline his ear to them all, and then to keep his Minister in a state of anxiety and suspense. Such being the condition of affairs, it will be readily understood that the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

task of Sir Vikar-ul-Umra was hopeless. If he initiated any step towards the purification of the administration, he was the target for all the office-holders in the State. If he tried to introduce any measure, whether educational, public works, or medical, he was held in check by the bankrupt condition of the finances and the personal penuriousness of His Highness.

Intrigue and espionage flourished. If I went, as I often did on my morning's ride, to call on the Minister to drink his admirable coffee and to discuss some question (and there were many) at issue between the Residency and the State Government, my visit would be duly reported, with suitable distortions, to the Nizam. Hyderabad was indeed the only place in which I have been offered a bribe. The circumstances were rather pathetic. The head of a certain firm of Marwari jewellers, whom I had known both in Bombay and Simla, came on business to Hyderabad. His real purpose transpired later; ostensibly his object was to sell some of the jewels. His visit to me was social and friendly, and we talked of many things. Shortly before leaving he said, "Would not the Sahib like to look at some of the rings I have with me?" As my wife happened then to come in, I assented, and he showed us a very beautiful assortment, far beyond our capacity. I pointed to the price marked on one of the diamond rings, Rs. 1,70,000, and said what was the use of wasting his time.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

He looked round hastily, and said in an undertone, "Won't the Sahib take it? It would look lovely on the Memsahib's hand!" I said, "You old villain! Are you actually offering me a bribe?" And he burst into tears and said, "Sahib, you do not know the condition to which my business has been reduced. His Highness owes me (he mentioned an appalling sum), and I know that we shall never recover it unless the Residency and the British Government take up the matter. All the stock I have shown you is mortgaged, and it is now nearly ten years that we have been trying to get something on account." I need not further elaborate the piteous tale; but I had to tell him that the method of his attempt to interest me had made it quite impossible for me to intervene in any way whatever.

So far had corruption eaten into the vitals of the administration and social life of the State that quite intelligent and well-educated people believed that bribery achieved anything and that nothing was done anywhere without it. There is no doubt whatever that large sums of State money were, at the instigation of intriguers, paid away to go-betweens of all sorts who were understood to have an influence with those in high places in the Government of India. That some of it reached the subordinates in the various secretariats may safely be assumed; and the forlorn hope that, by this method, it was possible

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to cause to be adopted a point of view favourable to the State's (or individual's) interest was sufficient encouragement to the trade.

I fancy that nowhere, except perhaps in Russia under the Czars, had bribery and corruption attained to such systematic proportions; and a story which Sir Edward Law (then Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council) told me of a case in Moscow might well have been true of the Hyderabad State as I first knew it. The owner of a big estate in White Russia died intestate, and the succession became a matter of litigation between two collaterals. The claim of A. was sensibly stronger than that of B., but knowing the need for using all the interest possible, and being in the fortunate position of having as judge of the court of first instance an uncle, A. at once went to him, explained his superior claim, and bespoke the judge's interest on the basis of family ties.

The suit dragged its slow length along, with interminable adjournments and delays, and at length, to A.'s horror, his uncle gave his decision in favour of B. Full of indignation and fury he called on his uncle, and expressed in no measured terms his abhorrence, not so much of the miscarriage of justice as of his indifference to family obligations. The judge heard him to the end, and then, patting him soothingly on the back, said, "My dear boy, how ignorant you are. This is only the Court of First Instance. I have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

taken *all* B.'s money. File your appeal and the estate is as good as yours."

Now I want to avoid the possibility of mistaken inferences. The condition of affairs in Hyderabad, even in the eighteen-nineties, bore no resemblance whatever to that obtaining in most other Indian States. Many were backward, but few, if any, were on the plane of inefficiency to which the affairs of Hyderabad had drifted. Nor do I wish to be understood as classing all the officials of His Highness the Nizam as corrupt. I have already said that Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, the Prime Minister, was an honourable and good man struggling with adversity, and there were some officials who were honestly doing their very best under very hopeless conditions.

I was intimate with that very eminent and accomplished gentleman, Syed Husein Belgrámi, who became later Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, also with Nawab Afsur-ud-Dávla; and these, with a good many others, loyally did their utmost. But the general picture I have given of the State is in no way exaggerated or overdrawn, and of itself explains the impotence of the handful of able and honourable men in the Nizam's service.

Though chronologically inappropriate, it will be convenient and also serve, perhaps, to correct false impressions if I refer here to the two years (1906-8) which I spent as Resident in Mewar,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

at Udaipur in Rajputana. There, too, one found a State administered on very old-fashioned and conservative lines, but with an atmosphere differing, *toto cælo*, from that at Hyderabad.

The Maharána of Udaipur, of the Sesodia clan of Rajputs, is venerated as the senior Rajput Prince in India. The fact that Udaipur is not a large or rich State is more than counterbalanced by the purity and directness of the Maharána's descent, by the fact that he is *ex-officio* High Priest of Eklingji (a holy shrine), and, in the case of the present ruler, that he is a man universally respected and of the highest moral probity. I was fortunate to gain His Highness's confidence and, I hope, friendship; and I am glad to be able to record here that Sir Fatehsinghji is one of the finest characters I have ever met. He is constitutionally incapable of deviating from the truth as he conceives it, and loyalty is inherent in his very life.

Called to govern the State from his feudal village, where he had led the simplest life, largely devoted to manly sport, he entered upon his difficult task with few educational advantages. The administration to-day is still conducted on the feudal lines of eight hundred years ago. It is personal rule, complicated by overlordship over numerous feudal barons; and, precisely as in the time of our Plantagenets, it is the feudal barons who occasion the king his greatest difficulties and troubles.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

To understand the Rajputs and Rajput principalities one should study Tod's 'Rajasthan,' but few have the leisure to peruse the whole of that rather diffuse but absorbing and fascinating work. To English readers it may appear paradoxical to say that the Rajputs, the proudest and most ancient aristocracy of the world to-day, have their being and all their traditions rooted in the principle that all Rajputs of a given clan are equal. Purity of descent is the one *sine qua non*. *Inter se*, therefore, the Rajput feudal traditions are democratic, and the peasant of to-day may, and often does, become the prince of to-morrow.

It will be understood more easily in the light of this that the titular overlord, the Maharána of Udaipur, has a very unrestful time with his Sardárs (or feudal barons). They are as proud as he, and every one is rigorously tenacious of his hereditary rights, and of any additional rights to which he can plausibly lay claim. While, then, the administration of the Crown lands was a relatively simple matter to Sir Fatehsinghji, his relations with his Sardárs have been extraordinarily difficult and unsatisfactory. Not only does each baron, on the succession of a new overlord, invariably try to establish some claim, either at the expense of the Suzerain or of some other baron, but he probably 'tries on' some evasion of the customary respect due to the Maharána. The

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

difficulties which have surrounded His Highness throughout his long reign have been due more to his unwillingness to concede any dignity which his ancestors handed down to him, and to his long delays in coming to a decision, than to any counter desire to belittle the importance and prestige of his Sardárs.

Perhaps no Englishman has known His Highness better or appreciated him more highly than I have, with the result that he consulted me most freely about his difficulties. We used to spend whole days together—he and I alone—going into a mass of the old documents over the study of which he spent so much time. During these consultations I learned to respect and venerate Sir Fatehsinghji. Quite simple, transparently honest, searching whole-heartedly for truth, but handicapped in coming to a decision by the terrible weight of his responsibilities to his race and ancestry, he never, to my recollection, sought his own advantage in anything. There are but few people of whom so much can be said. I must give one illustration of this. Sir Fatehsinghji one day laid before me, with all the documents in the case, the claim of a Rajput farmer in one of his Crown villages to a very large strip of alluvial land of considerable value on the bank of Jaisamand, one of the great artificial lakes of the Udaipur State. There was nothing to which an English court would have attached any weight in support of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the claim against the prescriptive Crown rights to such alluvial areas, though there was evidence that once, many years before, the claimant's forbears had been permitted for one year to cultivate the land in dispute. In such circumstances, the onus being heavily on the claimant, I gave it as my opinion that His Highness would be justified in rejecting the claim. The Maharána thanked me, but confessed he was uneasy, because he had a vague recollection that he had heard something in support of the claim. He would, therefore, wait.

Now 'waiting' was one of the chief sources of grievance against the Maharána, whose subjects complained that they could never get a decision. I therefore mildly urged him to make up his mind. Some months later I happened to remember about the case, and asked His Highness whether he had issued his orders. He brightened up and said, "Oh, yes! I found in favour of the claimant."

On further enquiry it appeared that, feeling uneasy, he had sent word to an old retired district officer to come in and see him. (I should mention that a wonderful system prevails there, or did prevail in my time, under which an officer of the State on retirement takes away into retirement all the records of his administration, leaving *carte blanche* to his successors.) This old gentleman had once, some forty years previously, served in the district in which the land

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in dispute was situated, and the Maharána asked him whether he recollected any such grant of land. The reply was "No"; but His Highness made him go home and bring back with him all his records. Together they went through them, and at last discovered on a dirty half-sheet of paper a memo. recording that the grant had been made. On the strength of this the decision was given in favour of the applicant.

I can conceive of no circumstances in which greater care could be taken to secure that justice be done, though it were to one's own detriment.

I frequently tried to suggest to His Highness means whereby he might reasonably devolve upon his titular Ministers some of the overwhelming mass of work which he kept in his own hands, but I met with steady and determined opposition. It was soon evident that this was due to no desire to transact all the business himself, but to his conviction that he could trust no one of his officials. In this I fear he was probably justified, and I discussed with him occasionally the possibility of devising checks, by means of returns periodically submitted, citing the system in vogue in British India; but I was never successful in persuading him that he could adequately discharge the great trust, as he viewed it, which had been confided to him otherwise than by doing the work himself.

On one occasion when the Maharána was

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

told that we in British India were compelled to trust our subordinates, as otherwise we should never get through the work, he admitted, not only the necessity, but also the contention that we did in fact find trustworthy subordinates. On being urged to act on the same principle, His Highness then expounded his theories on the subject to the following effect: "You may find an official who is to be trusted to carry through a particular job, so long as you have the means of exercising effective supervision. Such an official will serve you well in that position. But you English make the mistake of rewarding capacity in that post by promotion to a situation carrying with it, perhaps, independent responsibility. That is placing too great a temptation in the way of a man trained in a subordinate job." And he added, pathetically enough, "I myself can trust none of them."

A greater contrast, then, than between the personalities of the heads of these two States, Hyderabad and Udaipur, could hardly be conceived.

And the difference in the conditions prevailing was equally striking. Officials in Udaipur might peculate here and there, when they thought they could do so without fear of detection. Justice might, did indeed, march *pede claudo*; strife might rage between the feudal barons and their overlord, and *inter se*; reforms advocated by the Government of India might remain

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

perennially 'under consideration'; and statistics, beloved of the Finance Department of the Supreme Government, might come in months, if not years, late—and then in the wrong shape. All these and many other minor irritants might —and, alas! did—alienate that sympathy which should always subsist between the Viceroy's department of the Government and the venerable Maharána. And yet I can assert with assurance that the Mewar subjects of His Highness were, as a whole, happy and contented, and knew that, though it lagged, justice would eventually be meted out by the Prince.

The view which I hold strongly, and always acted upon, was that, in conditions such as these, it was our business *not* to be irritated by interminable delays; *not* to press in season and out of season for this, that, and the other change; but, by friendly co-operation and counsel, by securing the confidence and personal friendship of the Prince, to mitigate, rather than to uproot, the obstacles to the modernisation of the administration.

That these principles of non-interference, except when misrule reaches an intolerable pitch, commend themselves in general to the Government of India, is shown by a speech—one of the best he ever delivered—made by Lord Minto at Udaipur shortly after I had left in 1908; but it is a more difficult task to teach Political Officers, especially the younger and less ex-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

perienced, that toleration and the cultivation of mutual trust and confidence between Chief and Political Agent are of far greater value and achieve infinitely better results than the constant resort to official advice and official reports. When, in 1908, I was invited to draft the outline of a handbook for Political Officers, I very soon discovered that I should have to follow in the wake of that distinguished officer, Sir J. Malcolm; and when it came to putting on paper the injunctions which, in the light of my experience, seemed most urgent, these speedily resolved themselves into a long succession of 'DON'TS.' Indeed I must confess to failure; for, as I was on my way to take up my appointment as Agent to the Governor of Bombay in the Kathiawar peninsula, and had only five or six days for the task, the notes which I drew up can have been of little or no service, except perhaps by way of suggestion, to the Political Secretary, Sir Harcourt Butler.

But whether at Hyderabad or Udaipur, the opportunities for acquiring an insight into old India were unrivalled. There was in both places the atmosphere of the Moghul period; but while in the former this was tainted with decay and decadence paralleled only (in India) at Delhi under the last of the Moghuls, in the latter it retained its reality and freshness in a very unexpected degree. It was possible to feel and to live again in the surroundings of Rajputana

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the more prosperous days which preceded the Maratha invasions. The tradition of the great Partap Singh, one felt, was still a reality, and among the Sardárs were some splendid men of the very type one would wish to have beside him in a difficult place. And the maintenance of that tradition was largely due to the dignified and honoured character of Sir Fatehsinghji.

The simplicity of his life recalls the simplicity and austerity of those of his ancestors who held out to the last against the Moghuls. He himself, ever since he became prince, has been engaged in the pathetic task of trying to restore and renovate Chitorghar, the ancient capital, with a view to re-peopling it; and to this day he sleeps with a bundle of straw beneath his couch and wears his beard long, in compliance with the ancestral vow that the Maharána shall sleep upon straw and shall not shave until Chitor is rebuilt.

Lord Curzon, who did so much for the preservation and restoration of India's architectural treasures, was instrumental in securing that the Tower of Victory at Chitor was properly repaired; and, thanks very largely to His Highness's efforts, it is possible now to go over the whole of the ancient city and follow its history to the disastrous day of its sack by the army of the Great Moghul and the self-immolation of the women in the Gao-Mukh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chitor itself, which is reputed to have sheltered a population of 200,000, resembles, when viewed from the flat surrounding plain, nothing so much as a vast battleship, with bulwarks 200 feet high all round. It is situated to the eastwards of the State, near some of the jungles where tigers are fairly frequent. It is probable that this fact emphasised the special interest which the Prince takes in the old capital, for he is a very distinguished 'shikari' and one of the finest big-game shots. I have sometimes thought, when out shooting with him, that a great soldier was lost in Sir Fatehsinghji. The consummate manner in which, from the particular station either in an *otla* [1] or on the ground, he used to direct the manœuvres and advance of the line of beaters, never raising his voice, but with the utmost quietness either instructing an emissary or giving the direction with a gesture for the modification of the plan, was really impressive. And even more remarkable was his sense of fair play. He would never ask any of his followers to do anything risky which he was not prepared to do, and often did, himself. He was at his best and happiest in these conditions; and no news was at any time more welcome than that a tiger had entered some accessible jungle.

Even for a shikar expedition, however, the *purohit* (priest) had to be consulted as to whether

[1] Shooting tower.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the occasion was auspicious for His Highness to leave the palace. Curiously enough, when the question was one of sport, the omens always were favourable; and I am told that once, when asked what would happen if there were promising news of a tiger but an inauspicious verdict by the *purohit*, His Highness, relaxing into a smile, observed in an undertone that there was more than one *purohit* to be had. Incidentally, I may add, the *purohits* (Brahmin, of course), whether fat or thin, were liable to have to accompany His Highness, and I have seen them used as the perspiring emissaries conveying the Maharána's orders through the forest to the distant line of beaters. And they complied with orders *ventre à terre*.

I am tempted here to tell, in brief outline, the Odyssey of one of the Maharána's English *employés*, because it throws some light not only on the methods of Mewar administration, but also upon the characteristics of the vast silent mass of the people of India.

There was a powder-monkey, aged fourteen or thereabouts, attached to the British artillery in the Crimean War (whether permanently on the strength or landed from one of Her Majesty's ships I never ascertained) named Germany. When Sevastopol fell, this lad by some means or other shipped himself on board a vessel sailing for Australia. After being at sea for some years he decided to go up-country in Australia and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

try his luck on a station. There he acquired a taste for horse-flesh and horse-racing, but little else, and eventually he took to the sea once more. This time it was at Calcutta that he wearied of a seafaring life, and decided to try his luck on shore once more. Being penniless, and desiring to be possessed of some little capital, he answered an advertisement which happened to appear in the Calcutta papers offering Rs. 100 for a skilled diver to go down in the river Hooghly to inspect a wreck on the 'James and Mary' quicksand. He had never been in a diving-bell before; but no questions were asked, and he brought off his inspection and earned his Rs. 100 (a more valuable sum in those far-off days than it is to-day).

After an obscure interval, during which he must have turned his hand to many things, Germany found himself in some capacity attached to Lord William Beresford's racing stable, where his knowledge of horses, acquired in Australia, proved valuable. He was able in course of time to set up for himself as trainer and owner of racehorses on a small scale. Misfortune, however, overtook him. He lost heavily over a horse, and was just enabled, by selling off everything, to pay his debt of Rs. 30,000 and to start life again penniless.

This time he thought he would trek across India and perhaps take ship at Bombay for home. On foot, with a strip of canvas to serve

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as awning from the sun by day and shelter from the cold and rain by night, he tramped the 1200 miles or so to Southern Rajputana. (I never learned any details of this journey, which to him seems to have been devoid of memorable incident; but it is worth mentioning that he is one of two Europeans whom I have known well, as good and faithful servants of Indian Princes, who have walked across the greater part of the breadth of India, stopping at villages by the way, and who, though penniless, have on no occasion been received with incivility. Hospitality and help were freely given to them.)

One morning early the Maharána of Udaipur (predecessor of Sir Fatesinghji) was riding with a small body of retainers over the little bridge which spans the river which runs just to the west of Chitor. Happening to look down over the parapet, His Highness espied a little awning stretched in the shelter of the bridge and bank. He sent one of his followers to see what this might be. The man returned, obviously puzzled, to say that "It was a Sahib." The Sahib was invited to come and speak to the Maharána.

Germany emerged, and so greatly interested the Chief in his story that he offered him the position of manager of his workshops. He had occupied that post for many years when I went to Udaipur, and, from the point of view of faithful selfless service, had deserved as well as

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

any of the State *employés*. He was a curious character, of childlike simplicity, but was highly respected for his honesty; while, though he had had no training as a mechanic, he carried out work and repairs, as I know personally, more efficiently than is done in many much more pretentious establishments.

Except in the precincts of the capital, and between Udaipur city and Chitor, there were no made roads in the State of Mewar, and His Highness, who had known no other conditions, and himself travelled habitually on horseback, was not persuaded that there was need for more than the country cart-tracks which had sufficed for a thousand years. This became a grievance to the pampered devotees of Krishna from British India who were accustomed to make pilgrimage to the holy shrines at Náthdwára. While resident in Mewar I was interested, and could not help being amused, to receive remonstrances, through no less a channel than my old friend G. K. Gokhale, on this subject. He seriously proposed that I should use the machinery of the Government of India to induce the Maharána to construct and maintain a first-class main road from a point on the railway to Náthdwára (about thirty miles) for the convenience of British Indian pilgrims. This scheme, of course, had the support of the high priest—a very charming and enlightened ruler,—whose dues from the pilgrims would

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

thereby have shown a material augmentation. The Maharána held the view that, in the first place, the existing road was good enough; and secondly, that not his State but the shrine and pilgrims, who alone were to benefit, should foot the bill. But, on general grounds, seeing that an increasing number of wealthy people from other parts of India would inevitably add to the pressure upon him to carry out yet further innovations, he was resolutely opposed to the scheme. I refused to bring any pressure to bear upon the Prince; and I could not resist chaffing Gokhale on the strange anomaly, at the moment when the cry 'India for the Indians' was being raised, of an eminent Indian politician coming to urge a British official to invoke the aid of the British Government, on the plea that the standard of administration in an Indian State was so inferior to that in British India.

Reverting to 1897-99 and the Hyderabad State it is interesting to recall the methods, modelled on those adopted in Bombay and Poona, which were pursued in combating the invasion of plague.

Here was a scourge which planted terror in the heart of His Highness the Nizam and all his officials. Anything and everything calculated to stay the onward march of the pestilence was encouraged, and no expense was to be spared. The sole control was placed in the hands of Colonel Laurie, the Residency Surgeon, with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

carte blanche to do as he thought best. Fortunately the Hyderabad State possessed in Colonel Laurie a doctor of great initiative and resourcefulness. He asked for, and obtained, the services of a large part of the State's armed forces, including practically all the cavalry.

It should be borne in mind that, at the time of the plague onslaught in India in 1897, nothing was known of the causation of the pestilence, though the rat and rat flea had been by 1899 incriminated, and the plague bacillus was in process of being isolated by Haffkine in Bombay. The theory that you could arrest the spread of plague by a series of inland medical inspections and by the establishment of isolation camps and quarantine stations on the great highways of communication, whether by road or rail, still held the field. The measures organised by Colonel Laurie for the protection of Hyderabad city were, therefore, based upon this view of the matter. As the plague threatened to advance from the west, *viâ* Poona, Ahmednagar, and Sholapur, a regular cordon of troops was established along the western frontier, and the radical measures for ' stamping out ' the epidemic, which had given rise to so much disaffection in the Bombay Presidency, were repeated with greater vigour and on a far larger scale, without eliciting any serious protest from a populace inured to intolerant and oppressive administrative measures. No greater success attended Colonel

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Laurie's efforts than had marked the earlier 'combats' in Bombay and Poona; but certain deductions, which later proved useful, were drawn.

One conclusion was that persons whose limbs were protected to a height of eighteen inches from the ground were more or less immune. Another was that, as a measure of disinfection, it was just as effectual to scrape and burn the wall and floor surface of a plague-stricken house as to destroy it altogether. Finally, it was found that the best step to take when a case of plague occurred in a village was for the population to evacuate their houses and camp in the open fields. All these discoveries added to the evidence accumulating against the rat flea as the great enemy, and pointed to the rat as the chief disseminator; and meanwhile, with the isolation of the bacillus and the preparation of Haffkine's prophylactic serum, the darkness of our ignorance began slowly to lift. It became clear that two measures were likely to mitigate the rigours of the epidemic—namely, the destruction of rats, and the resort to inoculation with Haffkine's serum. In India, of course, both these methods were antipathetic.

The taking of animal life is to large classes of Hindus anathema, while an inoculation was equally repellent. Facts are, however, obstinate things; and gradually, with the lapse of years and with the growth of knowledge, resort was

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

increasingly had to these remedial measures, which are now commonplaces on the occurrence of an epidemic anywhere.

Of all places south of the Terai, I suppose that parts of the Nizam's dominions are more fully stocked with tigers than any other part of India, with the result that Secunderabad was a fairly popular station for British officers. Permits to shoot in various areas used to be given during the leave season, and every hot weather saw some fair bags of big game. The Nizam himself was sporadically a sportsman, and certain of the best jungles were, of course, reserved for His Highness, who was an admirable shot. I remember hearing that fifty-one tigers had been marked down in the jungle which he intended that season (1898) to shoot. But His Highness was a potentate of many caprices, of which punctuality was not one. It should be mentioned that the establishment of a camp for him was a serious undertaking. His following might, and frequently did, number two or three thousand persons, of whom half would usually be women of the zenana. The dispatch in advance of stores and personnel corresponding to a brigade, and arrangements for a special train for the Nizam himself and his more immediate entourage, were operations involving trouble and expense. A day for departure would be fixed, but either the omens were unfavourable or His Highness's mood fractious, and at the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

last moment the start would be postponed. But from the hour first appointed for the start until the Nizam was either actually aboard the train or had definitely decided not to go into camp that year, steam had to be kept up, and the whole staff of the railway (not to mention the Prime Minister and other nobles in attendance) would have to be waiting at the station. I have known His Highness keep his train waiting in these conditions, to the grave detriment of the handling of the normal traffic, for three whole days.

On the particular occasion to which I refer the fates were evidently adverse. The Nizam reached camp, and on the very next day shot a tigress, which on being skinned, &c., was found to have five cubs on the verge of birth. This, it was held, was a most ominous occurrence, and so on the following day, refusing to shoot any more, the Nizam ordained an immediate return to Hyderabad. That tigress must have cost several lakhs of rupees.

Among the Europeans in the service of the State was Dr Lauder, Private Secretary to Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, the Minister, and it was chiefly with Dr Lauder, and in Sir Vikar's estate jungles, that I was privileged to shoot while in Hyderabad—and very excellent sport we occasionally had. Dr Lauder told me of an incident that occurred during a shoot organised by Sir Vikar-ul-Umra which I think merits record.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A tiger had been wounded and had taken refuge in a large patch of tallish grass, to oust him from which the four rifles mounted on elephants formed a line and commenced to advance into the grass, which occupied a space covering perhaps an acre. As was usual when so important a personage as a Minister went on a shooting expedition, a very complete staff of servants had been sent to the camp, including a *dhobi* (washerman).

As the line of elephants advanced into the high grass, Lauder was horrified to see, advancing on foot from the left towards the centre of the patch, this *dhobi*. He stopped the line, and shouted to the man to get out of the way lest the tiger should get him. The man replied that he was not afraid of a tiger—" It's only a large cat," he said,—but at that moment the tiger charged him, knocked him over, and literally scalped him—*i.e.*, clawed off the whole scalp from the back of the head, so that it hung forward over the *dhobi's* face,—leaving the man otherwise uninjured.

The tiger meanwhile was killed, and Lauder immediately got down to attend to the *dhobi*. The latter was on his feet, and seemed to have sustained no significant hurt, was indeed laughing and cheery. Lauder dressed his head carefully, and insisted on putting him to bed in a small tent next his own. The *dhobi*, who felt himself rather a hero, was quite fit, and ate

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

heartily all that Lauder allowed him, and all seemed well.

Just before turning in for the night Lauder thought it wise to have a look at his patient; and, when he looked in through the flap of the tent, noted with satisfaction that he was sleeping peacefully and seemed cool and free from fever. He crossed the moonlit space to his own tent much relieved, but, just as he was entering, a wild shriek rent the air. Lauder rushed back to the *dhobi's* tent, and was just in time to see the man sitting up with an expression of abject terror in his eyes, only to fall back—dead. He must have lived over again the moment which had failed to terrify him, and he died of heart failure.

During my service in India I was witness to many acts of courage, and even hardihood, by Indians of all classes. I have seen the head shikari of the Ahmedabad Pigsticking Club literally fling himself in front of and upon a large boar that was trying to break through the beaters, having nothing but his *lathi* (stick) in his hands. I have had a most uncomfortable moment crawling into the black depths of a corinda thicket in search of a panther which refused to be turned out by crackers and fireworks; and while I freely admit that I was frightened to death, mainly of the panther but in part also of the rifle of the shikari who was crawling behind me, the latter betrayed com-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

plete sangfroid and indifference. But perhaps the most reckless disregard of danger which I have witnessed was the behaviour of a Mahomedan cavalry soldier (sowar) who was out with Lauder and myself when the latter had wounded an enormous tiger. The beast had taken refuge in a labyrinthine cave below the huge rounded boulders, so characteristic of the Deccan, which strewed the hillside. For a whole afternoon of terrific heat we had tried every device to drive him out or to get at him to finish him off. In the darkness below the boulders it was impossible to locate him precisely, though his general situation was known by the roars with which he responded to fireworks. During a lull in our efforts we were appalled to hear a sudden vicious roar, and then to hear a calm voice down in the bowels of the earth saying, "I have found him, Sahib."

The sowar had been wandering, armed solely with a long bamboo stick, for about half an hour all over the cave, and had eventually in the half light seen through a chink in the boulders what might be a bit of tiger, and had then prodded it with his pole to make sure. Providentially it was the tiger's hindquarters, and the aperture was not large enough to permit the animal, badly wounded as he was, to turn round and kill him. The man did not seem to think that he had done anything out of the way.

At desultory intervals, for many years past,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

references have appeared in the English newspapers to the controversy between H.H. the Nizam and the Government of India on the subject of Berar, or the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts"; and, since it appears that the average reader in England has not the vaguest notion of what it is all about, it may be of use to give the briefest possible account of the question. Moreover, the problem was coming to the fore very prominently before I left Hyderabad in 1899, as a consequence of the active interest which was displayed by Lord Curzon, immediately after his arrival in India, in the shocking maladministration of the Nizam's dominions.

Stated as briefly as possible, the position was this. In the early days of our relations with the Nizam, when during the struggles with the French and with Tippoo Sultan he was our ally, a treaty was made under which His Highness was to raise and furnish to us, at his own cost, a small but efficient force of troops known as the Hyderabad Contingent, while we on our part made ourselves responsible for the protection of the Nizam's frontiers from external aggression. In process of time it became obvious that, while the Nizam's spirit was willing, the flesh of his administration was weak. He recruited the men faithfully enough, but failed miserably to furnish their pay and the cost of their equipment. The government of the State was, not improbably, as corrupt and inexpert

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

then as it was in 1897. It became necessary, therefore, to negotiate a supplementary treaty under which His Highness contracted to make over five small districts to the management of the British, out of the revenues of which we were to pay the force, making over to the Nizam's exchequer any balance remaining after defraying the cost of administration. The Hyderabad Assigned Districts (otherwise known as Berar), while thus remaining under the technical sovereignty of our faithful ally, were governed on the same lines as the remainder of British India.

Successive Nizams sought to get the treaty revised and to resume direct sway of the five districts, but, apart from the fact that owing to continued laxity of administration it was certain that the pay of the force would again fall into arrears, it became increasingly difficult, with the passage of time, to contemplate surrendering an industrious and contented rural population to the tender mercies of the rapacious "Moghalai" official. The inhabitants of Berar lived in chronic apprehension of this disaster and all it entailed. We had introduced an adequate revenue and judicial establishment, and were building up education and medical relief. The continued chaos across the border was a guarantee for the relapse of the entire province into the indigence and misery which characterised the greater part of the Nizam's dominions.

31375 TT.i.65

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In order to put an end to this chronic nightmare, and at the same time to endeavour to set the Nizam's bankrupt administration upon its feet and to give it a fresh start, Lord Curzon caused to be negotiated a revised treaty, under which, on the one hand, while symbolically retaining sovereignty over the province, the Nizam surrendered in perpetuity all claim to its rendition to his administration; and, on the other, the Government of India made a liberal contribution to Hyderabad revenues. The preliminary inquiries, which were to lead eventually to this new pact, were commencing just before I left in 1899.

I still feel that the change made in the earlier treaty of alliance was a just if not a generous one; and it has been a real relief to every one with a knowledge of the facts to know that the recent efforts of the present ruler to secure the rendition of the Assigned Districts to him have failed. To any one who has been a witness of the appalling maladministration of our faithful ally's territories, it is wholly unthinkable that we should callously turn over to his tender mercies the people who have prospered for the past century and who have now a prescriptive right to our administration and care. Sentiment does, and always must, count for much in our dealings with India and Indians; and there is no stronger feeling in the breast of an Indian Prince than the pious duty to retain, or if possible

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

recover, any territory which has once pertained to the Raj. But in the case in point we have a moral obligation arising directly out of the perennial misrule by successive Nizams. The original surrender to our rule was a voluntary act. Had there been, during the years then succeeding, any sort of improvement in Hyderabad government, carrying with it any ground for hoping that the rendition would not lead to disaster for the people and to renewed failure of the Nizam's treaty obligations, there would have been ground for taking a different view; but it is the melancholy fact that, since the first Nizam-ul-mulk broke away from all allegiance to the Great Moghul at Delhi and asserted his independence, a succession of autocrats has failed to display any real sense of responsibility for the millions over whom they have held sway.

At the same time, it is always wholesome to be shown how others may view the matter. I had the pleasure in 1899 of entertaining two Americans, who displayed a keen interest in the history of the Hyderabad Contingent and the Assigned Districts. They had met some of the Nizam's officials, and had evidently imbibed the impression that it was a case of Naboth's vineyard. I explained the history of the case to them much as I have summarised it above; and, at the conclusion of my exposition, one of them, with a rather exaggerated drawl, ob-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

served, " We-ell, you British certainly don't let much go by ! "

Udaipur and Hyderabad, both of them reactionary States in the sense that they are administered in the ancient despotic fashion which prevailed everywhere in the East until the eighteenth century, thus present a marked contrast. In Hyderabad there have been introduced, in some departments of State, the simulacra of modern methods, while Udaipur is administered, in all essentials, on the lines which from time immemorial have characterised the government of all Indian principalities. In both it is ultimately the ruler who determines everything. All power is rigorously centralised. Obviously all depends upon the personal-character and idiosyncrasies of the Prince.

In both territories the administration is, according to our standards, inefficient ; but whereas in Hyderabad inefficiency, in the days of which I am speaking, had led to corruption, oppression, and discontent, in Udaipur, though there was no progress, there was contentment.

There are some six hundred principalities outside British India within the Indian continent, some of them vast, wealthy, and important, the majority very petty and insignificant. Within the ranks of their rulers is found every type of oriental character, and the systems of administration range from the most primitive autocracy to a colourable replica of that in force

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in British India. The most important of the States who have remodelled their administration upon modern (and Western) lines are Baroda and Mysore; and between their methods and the patriarchal system, of which I have endeavoured to give an idea, in vogue in Udaipur, there is every possible variety of form. In substance, however, it is personal rule everywhere. There is no instance of the spontaneous growth in India of the conception of representative government. This should be borne in mind when estimating the degree of our success in implanting this principle in British India.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER V.

LORD NORTHCOTE IN BOMBAY.

THE post of Private Secretary to a Viceroy or Governor in India is no sinecure. Sir Walter Lawrence was Lord Curzon's Private Secretary at this time, and I had the good-fortune to meet him very soon after the Northcotes arrived in Bombay. It was good-fortune in every sense, for I was very soon to learn that extra-official relations and extra-official correspondence can often be the means of assuaging wrath and averting misunderstandings arising out of official communications. The work of a Private Secretary is also very informing, since through his hands must pass the whole work of the administration, in whatever department, which requires the Governor's orders. He should by temperament be an optimist, otherwise he is liable to degenerate into a cynic; for his is also the channel through which preferment, rewards, and decorations are commended for the Governor's consideration. It is deplorable but true that this part of his work reveals unsuspected depths

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of baseness in human nature. Men whose services really do merit recognition have been known to jeopardise their chances by themselves asking for it, though it is of course in general those who deserve nothing that move heaven and earth on their own behalf. Even this melancholy characteristic, however, is not devoid of its humorous side. A certain English civilian—in the ages long past—who had persistently been passed over for promotion on account of hopeless inefficiency, wrote in officially offering to retire from the service if the Governor would confer upon him a C.S.I. in the next honours list.

In Bombay, apart altogether from the interest and stimulus arising from the official work of government, a Private Secretary has the advantage of meeting practically every one of importance who visits India. Lord Curzon's great Durbar of 1902-3 attracted an immense influx of visitors, all of whom passed through Bombay, both coming and returning; and a good many of the more eminent, whether socially or politically, were guests of Lord and Lady Northcote at Government House.

While on leave in England in October 1899 I received an offer of the post of Private Secretary to Sir Stafford Northcote, as he then was, who had been appointed to be Governor of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst. I owed this opportunity to the recommendation

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Sir William Lee-Warner, who, on leaving India (where his last appointment had been Resident in Mysore), had become Political Secretary at the India Office. When I left Hyderabad a month before, I had supposed that I was to pass the remainder of my Indian service in political work, but I was destined to be 'everything by turns and nothing long,' and after an interview with Lord Northcote—as he became almost immediately afterwards,—who was perfectly charming, I found it quite impossible to do anything but accept. And I may add at once, not only that I never regretted doing so, but that the three years spent with him and Lady Northcote are among my pleasantest and most interesting recollections.

Lord Curzon had been Viceroy for about a year, and the question of the status of the Governors of Madras and Bombay, who at that period as Presidency Governors had the privilege of communicating direct with the Secretary of State, and certain other prerogatives differentiating them from Provincial Lieutenant-Governors, had already formed the subject of correspondence. An understanding was arrived at, however, before the Northcotes left England, that no change should be effected during his tenure of the Governorship.

Among the special features of the Bombay charge at that time were the inclusion of Aden and the Somali coast within the Bombay Govern-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment's responsibilities, and the political control—exercised through a separate Bombay political service—of a very large number of Indian Princes' States. The administration of the great harbours of Karachi and Bombay also adds greatly to the burden which lies upon the shoulders of the Governor.

The heritage which awaited Lord Northcote was not a conspicuously happy one. Ravaged by plague since 1897, and devastated in 1899 by the most widespread and terrible famine in the history of Western India, the Bombay Presidency was desperately depressed. Naturally superstitious as some sections of the population in India are, they had sought for an explanation of their misery. Eventually it came to be accepted that it must be attributable to some individual, and after much occult research it was popularly believed that the ill-luck flowed from Lord Northcote's predecessor in office. This I learned in a rather curious way.

Lord and Lady Northcote arrived in Bombay, accompanied by Captain—now Lord—Greville, as A.D.C., and myself, at the end of January 1900, and Lord and Lady Sandhurst left on the following day. I had hardly entered my office, on return from seeing them off, when an old Mahomedan friend of mine came in exclaiming: "Well, I *am* glad Lord Sandhurst has got safely out of Bombay." Now I knew that Lord Sandhurst had been personally most popular, so I

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was somewhat intrigued, and in answer to my inquiry as to the cause of my visitor's relief, I was told approximately what follows.

Among the *Khoja* community in Bombay, a very important section of the Shia Ismailia Musulmans who are followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, there had been much uneasy speculation as to the cause of the evil days into which, during the past three years, the Bombay Presidency had fallen, and an ingenious explanation attributed it to the inevitable ill-fortune inherent in the name 'Sandhurst' when spelt in Urdu. The estimation of luck in a name is based on certain numerical values attached to the letters composing it. No other explanation seemed adequately to account for the succession of disasters which the public had suffered since Lord Sandhurst had landed. Evidence, to the satisfaction of those predisposed to belief, of a remarkable kind was forthcoming in connection with a racing incident. Lord Sandhurst was an enthusiastic attendant at the Bombay and Poona race-meetings, and took a very kindly interest in their success. In particular, wishing to mark his appreciation of the good horsemanship and straight riding of Ibrahim, the winning jockey of the year, he presented him in 1899 with a gold-headed whip. From that moment Ibrahim was unable to ride a winner!

The Arab owners, as well as the racing public generally, were gravely concerned, and after

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

much searching of heart and prolonged deliberation, it was decided to consult some authority experienced in exorcising evil fortune. The authority, after due reflection, pronounced that it was necessary to bake the jockey Ibrahim in a *chupatti* (cake of unleavened flour). The trouble was so serious, especially from the point of view of the jockey himself, that Ibrahim consented to the ordeal. He was duly, and with all proper ceremonial, built into a mound of flour *up to his neck*, and as much baking was done as was consistent with the avoidance of personal injury to the victim.

In the following day's first race Ibrahim rode a *dead heat*.

Now, my interlocutor himself disclaimed any belief in the story as he told it, but he assured me that the conviction that the evil days on which the Presidency had fallen were attributable to the ill-fortune inherent in Lord Sandhurst's name was so firmly fixed, especially in the minds of the more ignorant and fanatical, that he genuinely apprehended that there was risk to the Governor's life.

A week later the same friend came to see me once more. "Now what is your opinion of what I told you last week?" he exclaimed triumphantly, and produced a copy of a Reuter telegram announcing the occurrence of the first case of plague at Aden on the day on which Lord Sandhurst—still entitled to the honours

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

due to a Governor—had landed at Aden on his way home.

It was at all events clear that my Mahomedan friend was himself a half-believer.

It was a sufficiently serious task which confronted the new Governor. The seasonal epidemic of the plague in Bombay City was at its apex in February 1900, and the measures for the relief of the famine-stricken districts in Gujarat taxed the energies of the revenue establishment to the utmost. Plague was to reach its zenith in July in Poona, and there were all the consequences of bad times in the shape of political unrest, excessive crime, &c., to combat. There were also important matters connected with the development of Bombay, initiated by Lord Sandhurst, which demanded study and attention, as well as problems of legislation for the modification of the Land Revenue laws of the Presidency.

There was, however, one asset in Bombay of great value. Political extremists apart, relations were good between Indians and British; and Lord Northcote's special aim was to develop and strengthen this good-feeling. One of the foremost difficulties confronting us in India is the problem of social relationships. Bombay, in this matter, was better situated than any other capital. Indian business men—Parsee, Hindu, and Mahomedan—have for generations shown an enterprise and a business aptitude

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which has brought them into close contact on equal terms with the British firms.

Friendly relations existed, and, owing in some degree to the influence of the Parsees, who are trammelled by no religious or social difficulties in their intercourse with other races, an exchange of social amenities on an equal footing was already coming into practice. The fundamental obstacle to closer intercourse is, of course, the persistence in so many castes, and among the Mahomedans, of the rule which precludes women from going out of 'purdah.' To the English, men and women—especially the younger ones,—this rule imposes a bar to really free, intimate, and friendly relations, and is the justification, in their view, of the regulation in force in the majority of British social clubs which bars the admission to the premises of persons of Asiatic descent. To our Indian friends this rule is an offence—as one can very easily understand it must be. It creates a definite and distinct inferiority complex. Quite naturally a number of Indian clubs have the opposite rule—exclusion of Europeans.

To those of experience such a situation is most unfortunate, and the sad feature of the case is the degree of misunderstanding which it betrays on both sides.

It is absurd and childish on our part to regard a custom as venerable as the purdah-nashin system as an affront to our women, and to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

refuse to permit friendly intercourse with Indians because they are prevented from responding in full. It is equally unworthy—and to my mind is also a confession of great weakness—to protect ourselves by rules which are inherently offensive not only to Indians but to ourselves. Moreover, such rules are formed on a mistaken assumption. Indians recognise that we are entitled to establish and manage ourselves, for ourselves, our own social clubs. They do not wish to be admitted as members. But, for my own part, I felt it was an affront to me, and to my fellow-members of the clubs we belonged to, to fetter our discretion as to the guests we desired to entertain. If that discretion were abused it would be open to the committee to deal with the offending member.

What Indians have resented, and what has often caused me humiliation, is the existence of a rule which permits, say, Maharaja X. to drive me from the races to my club and drop me there, but which debars me from inviting His Highness to enter the hall of the club and compels him hastily to drive off without alighting.

I think it is true to say that every Englishman of experience knows that political difficulties in India, if not largely attributable to the social problem, are very greatly accentuated thereby. Responsible people would all like to see the matter remedied, and many endeavours have been made to palliate the situation; some with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a modicum of success, others without satisfactory result. I shall, perhaps, have more to say later about the most promising of these, but for the moment enough has been said to show that there was considerable scope for work in this field, and that it required the highest degree of tact. Some of the tributes published by the vernacular and English press in 1903, on the departure of Lord and Lady Northcote to take up the post of Governor-General in Australia, show not only that they had succeeded in establishing closer relations with Indians, but that, on both sides, their work in this direction was very highly appreciated.

Lord M'Donnell's Famine Commission was in the midst of its work in 1900. The Bombay Land Revenue Code had shown itself to be too rigid in some respects to meet a crisis such as that which resulted from the wholesale failure of the monsoon of 1899; and, naturally, one of the first tasks that confronted the new Governor in 1900 was that of familiarising himself with the conditions arising out of the famine. The situation was aggravated by the very late appearance, in the stricken province of Gujarat, of the monsoon of 1900; and in July it became imperative for Lord Northcote to visit Ahmedabad and confer with the Commissioner of the Northern Division, Sir Frederick Lely, between whom and the Famine Secretary there had arisen serious differences of opinion.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Lord Curzon, when he heard of Lord Northcote's projected tour of inspection, intimated his intention to meet the Governor at Ahmedabad, and thus, for the first and only time, that city for forty-eight hours harboured a Viceroy and Governor simultaneously.

To me, who had known the province in times of prosperity, the appearance of the countryside was appalling. It was twenty months since a drop of rain had fallen, and whole districts, which in normal seasons were smiling and prosperous, and during the rainy season, with their fields divided by cactus fences and with frequent groves of magnificent trees, resembled certain parts of England, presented a stark appearance of death. Not only were villages entirely deserted by the inhabitants who had had to resort wholesale to the various famine-relief camps, but the trees were, to all appearances, dead as well as the cattle. For the sake of the latter the former had been stripped bare of leaves and even of bark, and many of them never recovered. There was, in fact, a close resemblance between the woods in parts of North-East France in 1918 and the whole province of Gujarat. The landscape was studded with the grisly skeletons of the dead bullocks, and the prospect would have served most effectively as an illustration of a scene in Dante's 'Inferno.' The catastrophe had been the more appalling in that the province had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

no tradition of a failure of rain on that scale, with the consequence that the villagers were paralysed. They at first refused to leave their homes, or to resort to the relief camps provided at places where water, food, and work had been arranged for; and in many instances men, women, and children found dying of starvation in their homes had to be removed by relief parties to improvised hospitals and food centres. And there was the certain prospect, to be realised all too faithfully, that with the rain would come cholera—that invariable aftermath of famine. This is not the place in which to tell again of the magnificent self-sacrifice with which all classes—Indian and European alike, both men and women—grappled with the appalling situation.

If such tragedies can be said to have a bright side from any point of view, it is in the fact that they bring out that spirit of humanity and pity which ignores all barriers of race and colour; and I know that the co-operative endeavour which was then made, chiefly under the organising direction of English men and women, to second the efforts of the Government did have, for a considerable period, the effect of assuaging, if not altogether removing, the feelings of racial antagonism which, as a result of the plague preventive measures, had risen to such a pitch of bitterness.

Lord Northcote, travelling with very few

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of his staff, so as to avoid adding to the troubles of the overtaxed Commissioner and his establishment, arrived at Ahmedabad at 9 A.M., and, as he drove up from the station, a few drops of rain fell. Lord Curzon arrived later in the day and a few more drops fell on his arrival. There was much discussion in the bazaar as to which of these dignitaries deserved the main credit for this fortunate omen; and I was told that, while Lord Northcote as the first comer was doubtless entitled to the chief credit, it was evident that Lord Curzon's influence too was a good one and might render the monsoon more plenteous.

I am reminded here of an incident in Udaipur in 1907. There is no Anglican church there, but owing to the courtesy of the head of the Presbyterian Mission, an Anglican service was regularly held in their kirk on Sunday evenings whenever the Resident was at headquarters. We were, in July of that year, becoming very anxious owing to the late appearance of the monsoon, and after the service my Assistant Resident, Captain R. Chenevix Trench, said to the minister, Mr Runciman, "I say, Runciman, why didn't you read the prayer for rain?" Runciman, who, being perhaps unfamiliar with the Anglican prayer-book, had probably failed to find the prayer, was equal to the occasion. "Why," said he, after a moment's pause, "you see the Church of England's prayer-book only

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

asks for 'seasonable showers' and what we need is a heavy downpour."

Lord Curzon's tour through the famine-stricken areas, undertaken at the most unpleasant season of the year, was one of the many evidences of his energy and vigour. He was far from well at the time, yet, in at least one district where cholera as well as famine was rampant, and whither in July even in a normal season no one would go who could avoid it, he undertook a long journey on horseback which severely tested the endurance of the hardened, but very weary, district magistrate. However, in Ahmedabad his interest was predominantly with the magnificent monuments of the great Mahomedan period. He spent a good deal of time inspecting some of the more celebrated mosques, and incidentally was the cause of considerable embarrassment to the district magistrate, who, excellent in district administration, took but scant interest in archæology or architecture, and knew very much less about the treasures in Ahmedabad than did the Viceroy.

Lord Curzon had a long conference with Lord Northcote, but it dealt mainly with matters only remotely concerned with famine administration; and I well remember, after the conference was over, finding Lord Northcote chuckling to himself while lighting a cigar. "Hill," he said, "Curzon has asked me whether I often find it necessary to 'ride my Council.' Do I?—because

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he does." As a matter of fact, though the Bombay Council was not always a very united body at that time, Lord Northcote usually managed, in his own quiet way, to get the decision he wanted without resort to equestrian feats.

The visit of the Governor to Ahmedabad had one consequence of the greatest possible permanent value to the province. Lord Northcote asked Mr Mollison, who as Director of Agriculture was organising the transport of supplies of fodder from all over the country in an attempt to save the cattle, to write and tell him how best he personally could help the countryside. Now the Gujarat breed of plough cattle is among the finest in India. Milk-white or grey in colour, with a magnificent pair of horns, the bullocks stand well over sixteen hands in height and are the most powerful draught animals in the East. Mollison said that the best scheme—only it appeared not to be feasible—would be to enable him to buy, wherever he could still find them, the few remaining bulls and heifers and cows of that breed, and establish them at some centre where they could be properly tended. Lord Northcote decided to authorise this to be done forthwith at his own personal expense. A tract of land was acquired at Charodi, fenced, and furnished with fodder, and by degrees, from here and there, the sad remnants of the great herds were tracked down and bought and installed there. It is

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

probable that this prompt action saved from complete effacement a breed of cattle which had been the result of centuries of evolution. To-day one would not notice that there had ever been such a crisis, for although the herd had to be built up again from a head of four or five bulls and some hundred heifers in the first year, it grew with astonishing rapidity, and three or four years later the Bombay Government were only too glad to take over the Charodi Cattle Farm as a Government institution.

This is not a history of Lord Northcote's administration—it might be of greater interest if it were,—so that I must not attempt to deal with the problems of land revenue reform which resulted from the famine experiences, or with the success which attended his efforts; but I must refer to the plague in Poona, where, during the monsoon of 1900, when the worst of the annual epidemics occurred, the daily mortality touched 400. The population of the city was about 120,000. Plague measures, after two years experience, had been greatly modified; and Haffkine's prophylactic serum, though still not finally standardised, was in process of being introduced and popularised. There was still, however, almost greater apprehension about plague preventive measures than about the disease itself, and much tact was necessary to reconcile the people to the special sanitary and disinfecting

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

processes which were so essential. Many persons —English women among them—co-operated in visiting the worst slums in the city, and in endeavouring to establish confidence and to bring relief to households in straitened circumstances; and among the most regular visitors to the worst quarters was Lady Northcote. Many Indians told me then, and have reminded me since, that this action of hers—and of the others who co-operated—had a very real effect, not only in inspiring confidence at the time but in softening resentments.

At the other end of the social scale Lord and Lady Northcote laboured unceasingly. It was, of course, no novelty in the western Presidency for Indians to come to lunch and dine, but the normal garden parties had perhaps become rather stereotyped. Neither English nor Indians actively enjoyed them. This, I think it is true to say, was all changed, and the parties, whether at Ganesh Khind or at Malabar Point, became real entertainments for all who attended them, and afforded a pleasant meeting-ground for all races. Speaking generally, it is the race-course which affords the best link between the various communities—the reason being that Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsee, and Christian all go there to enjoy a common interest; and, by some means or other, the Northcotes managed to make all who attended their parties enjoy themselves and enjoy meeting others. This is a

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

great achievement anywhere. In India it amounts to the highest statesmanship.

A Governor of Bombay travels about the Presidency a good deal, and probably Lord Northcote's tours in Sind, Kathiawar, and the other divisions of the Presidency, resembled the progresses of other Governors both before and after. One of his journeys, however, possesses rather more than an ephemeral interest in the light of later history. Lord Curzon's administration in India was noteworthy not merely for the stimulus to efficiency in the administration within the confines of India proper, but also for unusual activities beyond the border; and later—1903-4—when I was Deputy Secretary in the Foreign Office of the Government of India, we had no less than five Boundary Commissions of varying importance functioning across the frontier.

One of these was in process of gestation in 1902-3, when serious trouble had developed in the Aden Hinterland. Aden's political administration was at that time a Bombay responsibility, and Lord Northcote decided, early in 1903, that he must himself visit Aden and confer with General Maitland, the Resident, and his political advisers. This decision was not at first received with approval by Lord Curzon, but as the Governor insisted the Viceroy gave way. The sequel, too, shows that in principle Lord Curzon must have approved the idea because

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

he himself, in October of the same year, undertook his journey, which was so full of interest, to the Persian Gulf to familiarise himself on the spot with problems not greatly dissimilar in kind, though of wider scope, from those which were intriguing Lord Northcote in regard to Aden.

However, the most important question discussed in Aden was not our immediate difficulties with the tribes of the Hinterland, the Imam of Sanaa, or the Turks at the Straits, though the results of the journey were the accumulation of a great deal of useful information on those heads, but our strategic position generally. The trade of Aden depends on the safety of the caravan routes from Yemen; and these are safeguarded by a system of small payments made under treaty, during good behaviour only, to the tribal Sheikhs. Two things had become evident: firstly, that the trade of Aden would be greatly stimulated by the construction of a light railway beyond Sheikh Othman to Lahej; and secondly, that the general peace of the Hinterland would be more effectively assured if a hill-station, not too far from Aden, could be made to serve as a cantonment subsidiary to Aden. It had been suggested that Jebel Jihaf, a plateau at about 6500 feet elevation above sea-level, where water was said to be available, might suitably serve this purpose, provided access by rail to within a reasonable

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

distance could be ensured; and these suggestions came up for consideration during Lord Northcote's visit. There were, as usual, the two opposing schools of thought on the political question—namely, the view which held that we should incur additional liabilities by occupation of a cantonment in the heart of the Hinterland; and the contrary opinion, based on experience on the North-West Frontier, that railways tended to pacification. This is not the place in which to discuss the political problems; but on the question of finance it was interesting to find that the commercial community of Aden were prepared, on reasonable terms, to raise the money required for the construction of this railway, and anticipated a fair return.

Lord Northcote caused a note on the subject to be sent to the Government of India, and although not definitely recommending action, suggested that from the strategic point of view, with special reference to the possibilities of a war with Turkey, it would be well for the proposal to be examined by the Army in India authorities. It was doubtless impracticable at the time, for one reason or another, to do anything; and he would be a rash man who would dogmatise on what the effect might have been on the very turbulent tribes in the Aden Hinterland; but the situation would certainly have been very different in 1915 from what it actually was. It is idle indeed to speculate as to whether the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

attack on Aden in that year would ever have been undertaken; but it is quite arguable that we should not have been reduced to the rather humiliating posture of defence in which we were held so long at Sheikh Othman.

Lord Curzon's great Durbar of 1902-3, on the occasion of which India was flooded with visitors of all sorts from England, has already had its special historian in the late Mr Lovat Fraser.[1] He has done full justice to its splendours, and it is unquestionable that as a spectacle it was not surpassed even by the great Durbar of 1911, when the King and Queen received such a loyal welcome in their Indian dominions. There was, of course, a Bombay Government Camp; and it was our opinion in that camp that we were by no means the least comfortably installed. As C. S. C. said of a less splendid affair, "Such things are not in my way," and I do not think I could write of that pageant on so enthusiastic a plane as some others have done. But it was not devoid, to us in the Bombay Camp, of its humorous side. Lord Northcote had as his stud-groom a great character, and an exceedingly efficient stable manager. Lord Northcote also had as fine a stable of coach and carriage horses as could be seen anywhere. The stud-groom was of the opinion that they furnished by far the best turned-out teams in Delhi. After the great Durbar ceremonial the

[1] Author also of 'India under Curzon and after' (Heinemann).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stud-groom observed to a member of the Governor's staff: "There's one man I am really sorry for this day."

"Who is that?" asked the A.D.C.

"That there Viceroy," said Tagg.

"But why?"

"Why, didn't you see his turn-out and, then, didn't you see 'ours'?"

I cannot refrain from another anecdote of this delightful character.

At the Horse Show in Poona in the year 1900 Lord Northcote showed two magnificent English carriage-horses in the harness class for pairs. The judge of the class was a very distinguished general. Tagg, who drove the pair in the ring, and was fully aware that there was nothing in India to touch them as steppers, was flabbergasted to receive the red rosette of the second prize winner at the hands of the general, with the observation, "Sorry, stud-groom, but you drive them too slowly: we like a better pace in India." Tagg, glowering, asked Captain—now Lord—Greville: "Was that there judge a general?" and when told that he was, he observed: "Then I don't wonder that we're having them disasters in South Africa."

But I must not finish this brief and inadequate chapter on the years of Lord Northcote's Governorship on a note of such frivolity. Not only does the fact that while still Governor of Bombay he was selected to be Governor-General of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Australia testify to the great work he did in the western Presidency, but it was the considered opinion of the most eminent Indians of Bombay that Lord and Lady Northcote between them had done something of perhaps greater moral value than merely administering the Presidency efficiently. There is a certain quality inherent in some personalities which eludes precise definition. It is in part unselfishness, in part even self-effacement, but perhaps most of all a transparent honesty of purpose coupled with an all-embracing human sympathy. Lord and Lady Northcote both had it in an extraordinary degree; and just as in a larger sphere, as I was fortunate enough to see for myself, they conquered all hearts in Australia and earned the confidence and complete trust of all, so in Bombay the people realised that in the departure of their Governor and his wife they were losing friends. This was testified by the wonderful send-off Lord and Lady Northcote received on the pouring wet August day of 1903 when they left India's shores. Despite the weather the crowds were thicker than I have ever seen them in the streets of Bombay.

It is a curious and characteristic fact that there is no public memorial in the Presidency to Lord Northcote other than the 'Lord Northcote Charodi Farm,' which he himself paid for at the beginning of his term of office. Neither is there any fund or other special organisation

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

bearing the name of Lady Northcote. The explanation of the first fact is that Lord Northcote asked that any funds collected as a commemoration of his term of office should be devoted to charity. The reason why there is no special Lady Northcote memorial is that she devoted her energies to the enlargement of the usefulness of existing institutions already bearing illustrious names, and especially to placing the Bombay branch of the Lady Dufferin Fund upon a satisfactory financial footing. To this end she organised, with the help of the late Sir Marshall Reid, the first of those great fêtes on the Oval in Bombay, which have since become such a feature in connection with any public philanthropic movement. But her name is titularly commemorated in the charitable institution the 'Lady Northcote Charitable Orphanage,' founded by an old Bhatya merchant of the city, now dead, named Ruttonsee Mooljee, and it lives still, as I learned when revisiting India in 1923, in the memory of very many of the inhabitants.

Times are changed. Whereas, until the close of the last century, there were only two Provincial Governors, of Madras and Bombay, who administered their charges with the aid of two members, constituting an Executive Council, and the remaining larger provinces were governed by Lieut.-Governors selected from the members of the Indian Civil Service, all the major provinces of India now have Gover-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

nors who govern with the assistance of advisers. The Governor may be appointed from any source, though in practice they have hitherto generally been selected civil servants. Opinion was, and no doubt still is, sharply divided on the question whether it is or is not to the benefit of India that the heads of provinces should be men with Indian or other experience. On the one hand, there is hardly room for doubt that service exclusively in India must have a narrowing effect, and it is arguable from this that the importation from without of men with experience elsewhere should provide a widening of outlook, and bring to bear upon Indian problems the light of knowledge acquired in other spheres. On the other hand, the accumulated knowledge of Indian problems which is the result of close and intimate contact with the people, their language, and their traditions, is an asset of great importance. To-day there is a council and a ministry in every province save the North-West frontier; with the result that the Governor, even if he be not himself an expert in Indian affairs, has access to all the experience and knowledge of his advisers. The argument, therefore, of those who support the appointment of men from outside the Indian arena is to-day strengthened.

But there is one qualifying condition which should govern all such appointments. The day is past when these posts could be regarded

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as the convenient means of discharging a political obligation, or as a suitable reward for partisans of questionable competence. There never was justification for the practice, though the excuse that it could be resorted to without serious danger was perhaps valid in the last century. Indians of to-day are very competent critics; and they naturally regard it as an affront to have second- or third-rate persons nominated as their Governors; and it is no longer true that such appointments can be made without serious political danger.

The validity for the claim for the Indianisation of the public services of India lies precisely in the circumstance that, too often in the past, men have been selected by the Secretary of State and sent out to India, in the education and other departments, who possessed but questionable or slender qualifications for their posts. Their subordinates, both British and Indian, have resented this bitterly; but, in the case of Indians, the bitterness has quite naturally been translated into racial hostility. Knowing themselves, both by innate intellectual ability and by acquired qualification, to be in some instances more competent for the work than those sent out from home, they have had every reason to be dissatisfied. It has occasionally happened that the men selected in England have, by force of character, eventually justified their appointment. Indeed I know of at least one

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

such instance. But that does not justify the practice; and there is no question, in the mind of any unbiassed person, but that the absence of care in the selection of men in England for positions of responsibility in India is answerable for much of the agitation in favour of Indianisation.

What is true of minor posts is ten times more true of the selection for Governorships. At an epoch when we are making the greatest of all political experiments in India, it would be criminal to send out from England any but our very best material. And there is plenty of it available.

Provided, then, that the Governors, as well as Viceroys, are chosen on the score of high competence, there is a great deal to be said for the occasional despatch to India of men versed in administration in other parts of the Empire; not only on the practical ground of importing, for the benefit of India, experience gained in other fields, but also on the score of increased mutual understanding between different parts of the British Commonwealth. Lord Northcote's familiarity with the House of Commons and associated Chambers of Commerce in England was of inestimable value to him in Bombay, while his patience, tact, courtesy, and freedom from personal ambition enabled him to command the personal affection, as well as the respect, of Indian and European alike.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL AND FOREIGN WORK AND LORD CURZON.

WHEN Lord Northcote left India in August 1903, on his appointment as Governor-General in Australia, he applied for me to be seconded for service with him there as Private Secretary. Lord Curzon was unable to see his way to agree to this, and appointed me to be Deputy Secretary in the Indian Foreign Office, where Sir Louis Dane was to be my chief. The disappointment at severing my connection with Lord Northcote was to be mitigated later; for the moment I entered upon eight months of most strenuous and interesting work.

At that period the trans-frontier, as well as the internal, political work was directed by a single Secretary; but in practice the Foreign Secretary, being more than fully occupied with external problems, left the administration of the Indian Princes' affairs entirely to the Deputy Secretary, who was also responsible for the internal organisation of the whole Department—

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

both foreign and political. I succeeded Major (later Sir) Hugh Daly, who had held the post of Deputy Secretary for a great many years. Meanwhile, with the assumption of the Viceroyalty, nearly five years previously, by Lord Curzon, the volume of work to be transacted by the office had much more than doubled. Consequently it devolved upon me, while familiarising myself with my new duties, to reorganise the whole establishment so as to enable it to cope with more exacting conditions.

When I joined, in November 1903, Lord Curzon was absent on the tour to the Persian Gulf to which I made reference in Chapter V.; Sir Louis Dane had gone with him; Sir Hugh Daly had already left Calcutta; circumstances the reverse of helpful on assuming charge of an office where decisions of real importance had to be taken with great promptitude, and where disorganisation, resulting from high pressure of business, had caused the breakdown of several subordinate functionaries. Fortunately I found in Sir Edward Baker—then finance member of the Viceroy's Council, and later Lieut.-Governor of Bengal—a most sympathetic helper in the matter of reorganisation of the office; and, thanks to his advice and assistance, it was possible so to reconstitute and strengthen the staff as to enable it to meet the heavy calls upon it, though even then, and I believe for some years after, the superior officers—Under

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries—had to labour twelve hours a day to keep abreast of the work. Moreover, within a very short time the Foreign Secretaryship had to be divided into two appointments, a Political Secretary being created to administer the internal political work.

It might be inferred from all this that I found Lord Curzon a heavy taskmaster; and, while that is true, I should like also to say, at once, that so far as I personally was concerned he was invariably very kind and considerate. Working, as he did, harder than any one else in the administration, he was entitled to ask the utmost from us all—and he did. On the record he was often very exacting, and sometimes, perhaps, hardly just. But, seeing as I did, each evening, the stacks of files which went up to him from the Foreign Office alone, all of which returned punctually by 9 A.M. on the following day, with evidence, in the orders on each one, of the meticulous care with which the whole had been mastered, it was a standing miracle to me, and to all of us, how he found time, between dinner and breakfast, to dispose of it all. And during most of the time he was a sufferer.

We, in the Foreign Office (some one once described us as "the toads beneath the harrow"), would have been less than human if our admiration of Lord Curzon's powers of work

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

had not sometimes been tinctured by feelings of soreness at some of the minor criticisms which he recorded on our efforts; and, looking back, I cannot but feel that there was a lack of proportion in the importance he attached to minor detail. For example, I have seen a long note by a high official, the substance of which was approved, scored all down the margin, in half a dozen places, by Lord Curzon's calligraphic blue pencil, with the initials 'S.I.'; that being the epoch of the wrangle over splitting the infinitive.

Again, as a story against myself, I had to get prepared a long despatch on the subject of the Tibet expedition. I revised the Under Secretary's draft carefully, and submitted it to the Viceroy. It ran to four printed pages of foolscap, and I was rather pleased with it, thinking it a good piece of work. At 9 o'clock next morning it was back, with a ton of other stuff, and I was distressed to read, as Lord Curzon's only comment: "I regret to say that it has taken me 1¾ hours to revise the draft despatch.—C." In some dejection I turned up our draft, and went carefully through the four pages. There were two places where a semi-colon replaced a comma, and three or four alterations in epithets. While all the changes were improvements I admit that I felt indignant, and I wasted the time and money of the Indian Government by causing the original

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

draft, as well as the one corrected by the Viceroy, to be reprinted, and taking both in to Sir Louis Dane asked him to go through them, and say which was mine and which was Lord Curzon's. He may have forgotten the incident, but I remember well his coming into my room, his usual amiability rather ruffled, to ask why I was " pulling his leg," as the two copies appeared to him to be identical.

Having thus touched on what was, perhaps, a natural defect of his very great qualities, I want to acknowledge the great debt I owe to my experience of working under[1] Lord Curzon. The whole world knew of, and admired, his immense industry, his colossal memory and store of information, and his almost miraculous capacity for assimilating and marshalling all salient and relevant points. He had a passion for clear and scholarly exposition of a case, and could not tolerate slip-shod methods. As is brought out so delightfully in Harold Nicholson's 'Some People,' Lord Curzon had a dual personality. Difficult and exacting on the official plane, he could be most genial and attractive in his private intercourse. A Viceroy of India is never completely freed from the incubus of his staff; but I did have the privilege of dining with Lord Curzon when no one, other than his staff, was present, and the experience

[1] This chapter was written a year before the appearance of the first volume of Lord Ronaldshay's 'Life of Lord Curzon.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

explained to me the personal devotion with which many of them regarded him. To the general public, and to those in official positions in India, he might, and did often, seem to be a hard taskmaster, frigid and unsympathetic, and it needed some insight into the less formal moments of his life to be persuaded of the truth that his proud, and somewhat cold, exterior concealed highly emotional qualities. I imagine that Sir Walter Lawrence (for nearly five years his Private Secretary), better than any one, could give the world an insight into the real man.

When I joined the office in October 1903, Sir Frank Younghusband was on his way to Lhassa. The expedition, or part of it, had negotiated the difficulties of the lower slopes of the Himalayan barrier, and were at grips with the passage over the high passes. As they advanced telegraphic communications were extended, and the Foreign Office, as also Army Headquarters in Calcutta, were in constant touch with Younghusband. It was related that the Director-General of Telegraphs, on the occasion of his weekly interview with the Viceroy, reported, with justifiable gratification, that a telegraph office had been established at the top of the Jeláp-lá Pass, adding, "It will be a satisfaction to Your Excellency to know that the Indian Government, under Your Excellency's régime, have thus opened what is unquestionably the most elevated Telegraph Office in the world."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

To which Lord Curzon replied: "I fear, Mr ——, that you are mistaken. If you care to look it up, you will find that there is a telegraph office at —— in the Andes, at an elevation two feet higher than the one you have just established." A Napoleonic touch. With him, as with Napoleon, "his unfailing memory was the artillery wherewith he defended the fortress of his brain," and recalls the incident, narrated by Ludwig,[1] when Ségur reports on the fortifications on the North coast of France, and where Napoleon's comment was: "I have read your report. It is accurate, but you have forgotten two of the four guns at Ostend. They are on the high-road behind the town." As Ludwig observes: "Ségur is astonished to find that Napoleon is right. His report deals with thousands of guns, scattered all over the place, but the chief pounces on the omission of two."

Indeed, there is much real resemblance between Lord Curzon and Napoleon. Not only had both this wonderful memory. Both had, deep down in their beings, a marvellous self-confidence, based upon a belief in their own destiny. This was qualified, too, in both, by an emotionalism which displayed itself mainly in their personal relations. The unbounded ambition which characterised both was tempered by periods of depression when all things seemed vain. The points of resemblance are all the more

[1] 'Napoleon,' by Emil Ludwig (E. & C. Paul), p. 175.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

remarkable because of the wide differences in their training and experience, for Napoleon acquired his qualities in the field, in direct contact with men; whereas Lord Curzon's were the result of study and travel, and owed by comparison little to a first-hand knowledge of human nature.

Courage and determination certainly, of the very highest quality, were shared by both; and the Tibet expedition was an exemplification of these characteristics in the Viceroy. Several histories of the adventure have been written, and I have no intention of trying to add to their number. But the firmness with which Lord Curzon, once he had made up his mind as to the course of action to be pursued in order to combat Russian intrigues, adhered to his line of policy, and the determination with which he saw it carried through, are in strong contrast with the half-heartedness which has sometimes characterised the conduct of our frontier expeditions. There were moments of intense anxiety. On one occasion, at least, a very perilous situation was only surmounted by the *sangfroid* and intrepidity of Sir Frank Younghusband himself. The expedition was as replete with the element of romance as it was surrounded by unknown dangers. The geography of the country was only partially known, and the physical features were largely a closed book to us. Much controversy raged round the policy

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of sending an expedition at all, and the risks inherent in the march of an army over terribly bleak uplands, through unknown obstacles, and against opposition whose strength could not be definitely ascertained, were unquestionably very great. It needed the courage and forcefulness of a Lord Curzon to persist in the policy, and to carry it through to a successful issue.

Sir Henry Macmahon was, at the same period, engaged on the Baluchistan Boundary Commission, and the parleys with the Turks, in the Aden Hinterland, were nearing their close. The developments in the Persian Gulf had, as already mentioned, demanded the Viceroy's presence there; and though at that period it was impossible to foresee the full consequence of German activities in Turkey, the tribal strife, then in full career in Arabia, was making the Indian Government familiar with the different warring elements which were eventually to play such important parts in the struggle of 1914-18.

I have already, in Chapter III., made some comment upon the difference in atmosphere between Bengal and other provinces in India in respect of racial feeling. In 1903 were already in operation some of the factors which were to contribute to the exacerbation of race-prejudice, marking the close of Lord Curzon's, and the early years of Lord Minto's, Viceroyalty. The controversies aroused by Lord Curzon's attempts to reform the Indian Universities were

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

at their height, while the storm was gathering, and was about to burst, upon the scheme for the partition of Bengal. It is no part of my purpose to dilate upon the merits of these measures, and they were both intrinsically very meritorious. They have both been discussed at great length in Mr Lovat Fraser's 'India under Curzon,' where full credit is given to the motives underlying this policy. I want here, rather, to draw a moral.

A Viceroy's tenure of office is for five years. Four-fifths of India's population profess a religious system, with consequential social customs, which reached its highest expression three thousand or more years ago, and has been in a condition of *stasis* ever since. The influences of that system, whether meritorious or baneful, have been powerful enough during all these centuries to absorb and assimilate, without perceptible modification of its own constitution, any alien *virus* that has been injected into it.

Now I am proud in the possession of a copy of Lovat Fraser's 'India under Curzon,' inscribed on the title-page "To Claude Hill, to whose unwearying help and advice this book owes so much." On page 18 occurs the following passage: "In his first Budget speech, in March 1899, he (Lord Curzon) referred to a category of twelve important questions, 'all of them waiting to be taken up, all of them questions which ought to have been taken up long ago,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and to which, as soon as I have the time, I propose to devote myself.'" Later he propounded a further list of twelve questions, and finally, a third list of the same number. And it is claimed, in the book, that Lord Curzon carried these multifarious reforms 'to completion.'

The comment suggested by this antithesis—between the inert mass of India's encrusted tradition and the herculean tasks set himself by Lord Curzon—is that he was aiming at the impossible; and the utmost that can really be placed to the credit of any seven-year-long assault on the citadel of India's *inertia* is that a breach has been made in the outer works. Lord Curzon made a larger breach than any of his predecessors, but he would be the last to claim that he carried anything 'to completion.' He not only stimulated the surface of the administration to greater activity and a higher degree of efficiency than had ever been attained before, but he also—especially in attacking the unwieldy hegemony of Bengal and the oligarchical character of the Universities—stirred the stagnant depths of Hindu conservatism and shook the stronghold of Brahminical ascendancy. In doing this, in the short span of six and a half years, he can lay claim to an almost superhuman achievement. But I am confident that he, himself, was not under the delusion that he had brought his reforms 'to completion.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

And the moral I suggest is that any one who, in the course of his brief career in India, hopes to see the fruit of his labours, is doomed to disillusionment, and may even, by excessive haste, diminish the permanent value of what he does. Apart from such material things as roads, bridges, irrigation works, and railways, which immediately affect the externals of the lives of the people, those who toil for India must be content to have their reward in terms of hope. Those who, in their labours for the moral and political uplift of India, look to early concrete results must inevitably be disappointed. And it is just here, at this point, that one may perhaps be critical of Lord Curzon's heroic labours. He did most earnestly desire to see results in his own time, with the result that, in some things, the consequences were not as satisfactory or as permanent as they should have been.

One can state the case in another way. Neither five years, nor seven, nor seventy are a period within which it is possible to win acceptance, in conservative India, of any fundamentally new idea; and when the desired reform is one which impinges on, or perhaps radically affects, old established customs embedded in the very marrow of the people, generations may be needed before the fruit of one's labour can be looked for.

Take the minor instance of the Cadet Corps.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Lord Curzon, long before any one else had appreciated it, realised the desirability, on so many grounds, of providing an honourable career of a suitable kind for sons of Indian Princes and for the scions of the old warlike clans of India. He, almost alone, perceived the ultimate necessity for enrolling Indians of this class in the commissioned ranks of the army of India. The idea was unpopular with the military authorities on the score of military efficiency. Lord Curzon, appreciative as he always was of the appeal made to India by a spectacular showing, conceived the idea of combining the provision of a military training with a visual proof of the close ties binding the Princes of India to the British Crown. The result was the scheme for the Imperial Cadet Corps, which was established at Dehra Dhun. Lord Curzon's instinct was accurate. The corps made a real appeal to the Princes, and for two or three years constituted an unqualified justification of his insight. After that period had elapsed, however, and after the completion of their period of training by the first batch of the cadets, it became evident that the scheme, under the then conditions, led nowhere. The young Princes, having undergone their military discipline and training, not unnaturally expected that scope would be given for their acquired knowledge. Discontent at what was even represented as breach of faith was manifested. Hopes had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been held out of fitting them for careers in the army, and to some of them it was a bitter disappointment to realise that no arrangement had been made to satisfy their ambitions.

It was not until twenty years later that the military authorities were able to devise a scheme for an Indian Sandhurst, and for the admission of qualified Indians to the commissioned ranks in the army; and, since such a scheme was a necessary condition of the permanent success of the Cadet Corps as it originated in Lord Curzon's brain, it is arguable that it would have been wiser to defer the creation of the corps until conditions could be established assuring its success.

A conscientious endeavour has been made by the Government of India to provide a satisfactory education for the sons and relations of the noble houses of India. The earliest of the Chiefs' Colleges was established at Ajmer in Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, and bears his name; and there are three other similar, but less ambitious, institutions at Rajkot (in Kathiawar), at Indore (Central India), and at Lahore (Punjab). These colleges are conducted on the lines of English public schools. The pupils board in houses attached to the College, and every effort is made to train up the young chiefs to a healthy outlook on life. Acceptance of a scheme so alien to all Hindu precedent was astonishing enough. Still more surprising, perhaps, has

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been the measure of success attained, and this is in very large degree due to the unstinted devotion to the work of a number of admirable Principals. The names of Chester Macnaghten and Charles Waddington will long be remembered with gratitude in many a Rajput household. And, if it must be admitted that success has not uniformly attended their efforts, the admission is neither a reproach to them nor a condemnation of the policy governing the scheme. Though the boys, for nine months in the year, come under the influence of a wholesome stimulus, and are encouraged to compete in outdoor games, yet during the other three months they return to the bosom of the zenana with, in such a sad proportion of instances, ruinous effect.

Much was done in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, not only towards improving the educational side of the Chiefs' Colleges, but also for the closer association of the Princes themselves in their administration. The governing body, composed preponderatingly of Princes or their accredited representatives, was induced, during his Viceroyalty, to take a keener and closer interest in both the academic and social sides of the senior college at Ajmer, and it was part of my business, *en route* from Calcutta to Simla in April 1904, to attend one of these meetings. One impression left vividly on my mind is that, if we had to deal only with the men and could

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ignore the women, it would be relatively easy to approach reform in the home up-bringing of the boys. Not only such enlightened rulers as the late Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikaner, but the older and more conservative potentates displayed a real and understanding interest in the problem. The influence of the women of India is, however, still on the side of reaction.

Other pens have, much better than I could do, described the miraculous change in outward things that has taken place in the younger generation of India's Princes as a result of contact with us, and of a growing appreciation of some of our Western habits. The meetings at Ajmer, to which I have referred, were most informal; every one smoked, and no ceremony was observed. But these easy-going methods could not be adopted when a Prince of the older generation elected to attend. I was told of an occasion when, at one of these informal but business gatherings, a messenger suddenly announced the imminent arrival of His Highness Sir Fatehsinghji, Maharána of Udaipur, the *doyen* of all Rajputs, of whom I have tried to give some idea in Chapters IV. and VIII. Instantly all was confusion. One Maharaja disappeared altogether through the window, and was no more seen; another dashed into the lobby and despoiled a messenger of his waistband, without which it would be disrespect

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to appear in the presence of the Maharána; and all did their utmost to procure a sword of some kind. But the Maharána himself, living as he had done a wholesome, manly, out-of-doors existence, and a family life without reproach, is entirely an influence for good when questions of the clean up-bringing of youth are in issue; and though his contribution to intricate problems of modern education would be small, the weight of his personality has always been on the side of anything that would help the rising generation to become men.

I think it is true to say that Lord Curzon revolutionised the mutual relationship of Viceroy and Princes. Almost for the first time every Prince of any importance felt that the Viceroy took a personal interest in him, and would wish to know all that concerned him; and, with the exception of the two or three instances in which, whether owing to maladministration or otherwise, serious differences arose, the Princes deeply appreciated the fact. I have already referred, in Chapter IV., to the corruption and inefficiency which, at that period, characterised the government of India's largest independent State, Hyderabad. The condition of affairs had become intolerable, and was of double importance to the British administration owing to the peculiar situation of Berar. The extension of chaos in Hyderabad reacted upon the inhabitants of that province who lived in chronic fear of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

rendition. In order to stabilise the situation, and at the same time to aid the Nizam to recover financial solvency, Lord Curzon proposed a treaty revision under which the administration of Berar should, for economy's sake, be absorbed by British India into the Central Provinces, and a handsome yearly sum (£168,000) be paid to the Hyderabad State, who, while retaining titular sovereignty, should surrender all claim to a resumption of the administration. After a personal visit by the Viceroy to Hyderabad an agreement was reached, and the late Nizam expressed himself as personally satisfied. Endeavours have since been made to reopen the question, but, as already mentioned in Chapter IV., these have not been successful.

Years earlier, in 1892, when Under-Secretary to the Government of Lord Harris in Bombay, I had made acquaintance with the late Maharaja Holkar of Indore, and had, in the course of my duty, to receive him officially on behalf of the Government when he visited Bombay. Also, in accordance with the etiquette prescribed for those occasions, I had to fetch him from the house in which he stayed and to accompany him on his official visit to the Governor. He was a splendid man physically, but, even at that earlier date, eccentric. When we approached that picturesque, but architecturally unimpressive, group of houses at Malabar Point which shelter the Governor, Holkar said to me: "But

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

where is Government House?" I replied: "That is it, Your Highness." "But this is not a fitting place at all," he said; "if it were mine, I should pull it down and build a real palace." I suggested that it would cost the tax-payer a lot. "What does that matter," he said; "the Government of India can get as much money as they want, I suppose." He had a great sense of humour, too, which displayed itself in all sorts of practical jokes. When his maladministration reached the point at which abdication seemed, even to himself, the only way out of chronic embarrassment, and when, for the sake of his own personal credit, it became essential to restrain him from wandering about India in the irresponsible fashion which appealed to his restless spirit, it is related that he would, from his palace at Indore, suddenly issue orders for the preparation of his special train. Such orders were immediately repeated to the Resident, who, whatever the hour might be (and Holkar usually chose the most inconvenient hours of the night), had to leap out of bed and proceed to the station to persuade His Highness not to go. And when he got there, Holkar would be quietly in bed—enjoying the joke!

It was in Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty that Holkar's abdication was finally achieved; and the report—whether true or not—that when Lord Curzon was leaving Bombay, at the close of his extended period of office, he received a telegram

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

from Holkar which began "Now that we are both in trouble . . ." was accepted as being a characteristic instance of the mentality of the Maharaja.

One problem with which Lord Curzon was greatly preoccupied but which was never, in his time, brought to the fore, was the position of the Protected Princes of India within an evolving and rapidly changing British India. I believe this preoccupation to be indicated by several steps that he took. He aroused resentment among the Princes by a circular to political officers which was interpreted as meaning that a Prince must ask leave from the Government of India before leaving his own territories and especially before going abroad from India. He mooted a further project, having for its aim a fair distribution of the treaty contribution made for defence against external aggression, a project, however, which, under instructions from the Secretary of State, was not pursued. And he undoubtedly pondered the means of arranging for a body representative of the Princes with which the Government might discuss their affairs and interests. It is my own belief that Lord Curzon had one single aim in all this—namely, the purpose, in their own interest, of strengthening and safeguarding the position of our Indian allies, of adding to the means by which they could represent and protect their own interests, and of bringing them into closer

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

contact and consultation with the Government. His object could only be effectively attained by a collective improvement of their own administrations, and by creating a sense of corporate responsibility amongst them.

Lovat Fraser, when he was concluding his book in 1911, was conscious of the probability that his record of Lord Curzon's career in India would be assailed from this point of view. The murmurs of discontent, and the growth of revolutionary propaganda which marked the period of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty, and which, as I have already mentioned, were attributed in part to some of Lord Curzon's administrative reforms, gave to critics the opportunity to ask why his activities had not embraced the problem of the reforms which engrossed the attention of his successor. Here is how Lovat Fraser anticipates[1] the criticism. "It has often been complained against Lord Curzon that while he instilled new strength into British rule, he did nothing to satisfy the aspirations of Indians for a larger share in the control of their own affairs. The complaint is quite legitimate and is entitled to an answer. The particular work which Lord Curzon went to India to do did not include an enlargement of liberties, such as has now been granted." (Lovat Fraser here refers to the Morley-Minto reforms which enlarged the representation of Indians and non-officials

[1] P. 464, 'India under Curzon and After.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

on the Legislative Councils, though still maintaining an official bureaucratic majority.) "It was a work which presented many more difficulties than he had anticipated; he undertook many reforms which he had never originally contemplated; and during the whole of his second period of office he was intermittently engaged in a serious conflict which could not have been foreseen. Had he been able to complete the full term he had projected, had his pathway been peaceful towards the end, it is my belief, and that of men who were intimately associated with his Viceroyalty, that he would have come to realise the desirability of rounding off his labours by some substantial concession to the aspiration of educated Indians."

I think one might go further and say that, since many of his reforms, more particularly those in the field of education, were designed to fit Indians better for the responsibilities of administration, and since all aimed at adapting the administrative machine more effectively to the diversity of tasks imposed upon it, he must have had the bigger purpose at the back of his mind and was consciously laying the foundations for it. On the other hand, that he would himself have projected—or intended to project—the kind of reform known by the names of Lord Minto and Lord Morley, is open to doubt. Critics of those reforms have from their inception pointed out that, since they were only an exten-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sion, to its extreme limit, of the system introduced in 1892, and since they retained an official majority on all the councils, they were a negation of the parliamentary representative system; and that the only substantial result was to make more vocal the non-official (Indian) minorities, and so to add fuel to the agitation. Only in one or two provinces did those reforms, in fact, work smoothly. It is vain to speculate as to what course he might have taken had he remained in India in direct contact with things. The views he expressed after leaving India are no guide as to this. It is notorious, and a very human trait, that retired Satraps from our possessions overseas are prone to be critical of the work of their successors, and Lord Curzon was very human. But I like to think, and shall continue to believe, that, while Lord Curzon would not have been favourable to the partial and unimaginative measure known as the Morley-Minto reforms, he might have devised some scheme leading by stages to responsible representative government, even better adapted to the purpose than the one with such difficulty evolved by us in 1917-19.

At least it is safe to say that he, of all men, must have been conscious, in everything he did, of the ultimate need for a development of this character, since every task he undertook was calculated to make such a change more feasible.

I left the Foreign Office to become Political

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Secretary to Lord Lamington's Government of Bombay in June 1904 shortly after Lord Curzon had left for a four months' visit to England. He returned in the autumn; but during the whole of the extended period of his Viceroyalty he was preoccupied with the conflict with Lord Kitchener over the principles which should govern the relationship between the Commander-in-Chief and the civil power. Any one who is interested in this controversy will find the particulars set out at length on p. 415 *et seq.* of Lovat Fraser's book.[1] The fitting comment is that the whole thing was deplorable. Not only did it cast a deep shadow over the closing days of a notable Viceroyalty, but it hindered progress in a variety of ways, and blighted much of the fruit of six and a half years of strenuous effort in the cause of efficiency in all branches of the administration.

[1] Written before the appearance of Lord Ronaldshay's 'Life of Curzon.'

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VII.

UDAIPUR AGAIN, AND KATHIAWAR, 1906-1912.

My good fortune decreed, in 1905, that my health required a long sea voyage. For the English official who breaks down in India, Australia is the ideal change of air, and Australians invariably overwhelm him with kindness and hospitality. But my lot was a superlatively happy one, in that I was not only to see Australia from Government House in Sydney and Melbourne, but was to be attached to the Governor-General's staff as a sort of unofficial Private Secretary. Contact with things without responsibility; a most unusual experience. I have often thought that I must have been, on occasion, a nuisance to the responsible official Private Secretary, Captain (now Sir Hamnet) Share, but that delightful person never allowed me to feel this. Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, Governor of New South Wales, had quite recently permitted Share to leave his staff and to join Lord Northcote. The political situation in Australia was, at the time,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

very interesting. Sir George Reed was Federal Prime Minister, but very insecure; and during my stay his government was defeated, and Mr Deakin was sent for. Mr Watson was the Labour leader in the Federal Parliament.

After a lapse of more than twenty years the details of political issues of those days are probably forgotten, but I was told quite recently that the confidence with which the leaders of all parties regarded Lord Northcote is still vividly remembered. It is certainly true that all the leaders in federal politics impartially visited and discussed matters with him. I have already, in Chapter V., mentioned the personal popularity achieved by Lord and Lady Northcote throughout Australia, and if the closest interest in affairs of moment to the Australians, and unremitting effort on behalf of any cause that could benefit the country and its people, deserve that reward, it was most fully earned. During my all-too-short stay, there was in progress a propaganda on behalf of indigenous industries and manufactures; and not only Their Excellencies, but all their staff, gave the weight of their patronage to Australian tweeds. I do not know how the campaign developed, but for the time being at least, the well-to-do followed the new fashion, and clothed themselves in the products of Australian mills instead of demanding English cloth.

Looking back, however, the outstanding feature

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of a stay in Australia for the jaded Englishman from India is the tonic effect of the moral, as well as the physical, atmosphere there. Whether at Sydney or Melbourne, one was conscious of an intense desire to get on with the work, whatever it might be; of an iron determination to be in the van of progress. While the spirit of democracy was deep rooted, it was the democracy which gives all men an equal chance and a fair opportunity, but welcomes, encourages, and is proud of exceptional merit leading to outstanding success. I certainly experienced the sensation of being quite inadequate in my pride of race, and contact with the workers of Australia was an admirable stimulus. It was with very real regret that I had to leave in September 1905, to return—*via* New Zealand, the Pacific, and the United States—to England. Whether the stimulus which I have mentioned, or the *ennui* incidental to the cure I had to undergo at Llandrindod Wells, or both together, were responsible, I cannot say, but I had the hardihood (Kipling's 'Paget, M.P.' notwithstanding) while in Wales to write a booklet, of which even my own copy has disappeared, on Australia. I recall it with satisfaction for one point only. The issue of the northern territories was, as indeed it always is, an urgent problem in 1905. In 'Australia's Aspirations' I propounded the suggestion that the Commonwealth Government should acquire from the States, excepting perhaps

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Queensland, all the territory north of latitude (south) 20°, and should organise and administer it as a dependency. It interested me greatly when Sir Hal Colebatch, the Agent-General for Western Australia, visited the Isle of Man in the spring of 1927, to learn that negotiations are now proceeding between that State and the Commonwealth for the transfer to the latter of its territory to the north of latitude 20°.

It was not until October 1906 that I was fit to return to work, and I found myself posted as Resident at Udaipur, one of the most lovely spots in all Central and Northern India. I have already, in Chapter IV., anticipated some of my impressions of this most attractive Rajput State, which, inconvenient though the railway approach is, attracts a good many cold-weather visitors. Their stay of, perhaps, two or three days at the guest-house or the so-called hotel can, however, give them no true realisation of its essential charm. Pierre Loti was able to reproduce some of it, but it is necessary to live the year's seasons once round at least to appreciate its fascination; and even then, unless one has lived on terms of friendship with the Maharána, it is impossible to understand and feel, to the full, the charm of the patriarchal atmosphere of the place. My eighteen months there brought me nearer to a realisation of the inner spirit and atavistic instincts of Mother India than any other period of my service.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

For one thing, a Political Resident there is not overburdened with office work, and there is leisure to assimilate impressions. If the Resident is fortunate enough to secure the personal friendship and confidence of a Prince like Sir Fatehsinghji, he has an opportunity of getting a true insight into the psychology of a race which has a very close resemblance to our own in tastes, sense of honour, love of adventure, and an innate loyalty to home and ancestry. The Maharána was good enough to give me a greater degree of his confidence than he gave to others, and I prized that friendship very highly. Whether in the Sahelion-Ki-Bari (slave girls' garden), or in one of the little island palaces on the lake, or on the flat roof of the Residency, or away in some shooting camp, I had prolonged conferences, *à deux*, with His Highness on every variety of subject, but most often about administrative problems which at the moment happened to be intriguing him. I have mentioned in Chapter IV. how impossible he found it ever to trust his ministers; and, though he had an exceedingly attractive and able Private Secretary, named Gopinath, he was often loth to confide in him, because he was aware of the pressure that would be brought to bear upon him, and, knowing this, doubted his capacity to resist. From this it resulted that, though some servant was usually told to be within hail, no one was ever present at our talks. A mes-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

senger on horseback would bring me a verbal inquiry as to whether I could go to see His Highness, or whether it would be more convenient for His Highness to come to see me. It occasionally happened that I was having a tennis party when the message arrived, and I would propose, in reply, that His Highness should come to see me at an hour after sunset, when tennis was over. I received him formally, and conducted him ceremonially into the dra. ing-room. After a few nondescript observations, either he or I would suggest that, as the weather was warm, we should adjourn to the roof of the Residency, where I always had carpets ready spread, and two chairs arranged with a view to this development. Once thus situated, aloof from the possibility of eavesdropping, we would enter on the business in hand, whatever it might be. His Highness always brought with him one or two slips of paper (*yád dásht*) with scribbled memoranda on them. One would be concealed in the folds of his head-dress, another tucked into his waistband, and each in turn would be searched for, produced, folded flat, and then read out as the text of the problem. Once, when a sudden breeze arose, there was presented the unique spectacle of His Highness and myself pursuing one of those elusive scraps of paper all over the roof, dodging amongst the chimneys and ventilators until the truant was safely captured and retrieved.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

More frequently, however, and always where the mâtter in hand required reference to the records of a case, I would meet the Maharána in his palace or camp, and then I had an insight into the methods of a lonely, deeply conscientious man, whose conception of his duties involved the responsibility of coming to a decision independently of any possibility of outside influence by interested parties. He kept all the records of important questions under his own lock and key in small tin trunks. Every memo. relating to a case was known to him and to him alone. And we would, on such occasions, sit side by side, with the yellow tin trunks on the ground beside His Highness, who, with meticulous care, producing at each step the relevant paper, would give an outline of the matter in dispute. I would give much to be able to present, with pencil or pen, a portrait of this splendid old man, bearded and robed in the long coat of the Sesodia tradition, bending the whole of his mind and soul to the service of his State and ancestry. Never, in the unravelling of the many problems we discussed, did a consideration of self enter into the matter. He was a picture of one of the law-givers and high priests of the old Norse traditions. As an illustration of his intense personal loyalty to any one with whom he was on terms of confidence, I must give a single instance.

Sir Charles Hobhouse, then Under-Secretary of State for India, came out, during the winter

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of 1907-8, to India as Chairman of the Decentralisation Commission. Strictly speaking, apart from finance, the mandate of the Commission did not include any direction to deal with matters affecting political work. I was, however, summoned to Calcutta to give evidence before the Commission, perhaps because, as is mentioned in Chapter II., I had been instrumental, with Sir William Meyer, in preparing their brief for them. I persuaded the majority of the Commission, including the Chairman and Mr W. L. Hichens, to pay us a visit. Of course, I took the party to pay their respects to His Highness, but Sir Charles Hobhouse, as Under-Secretary of State, being not unnaturally desirous of making the better acquaintance of so revered a Prince, asked for a special audience for himself. This I arranged for, but I was rather surprised when, following on the heels of Hobhouse, on his return from the palace, His Highness, without giving me the usual warning, drove up in haste, and sent word that he wished to see me urgently and alone. When I had received him, he at once gave me a *verbatim* report of every question put to him and his own reply to each; and he then said, "Who is this Hobhouse Sahib who poses such questions?" I explained his Parliamentary position, but the explanation failed utterly, in His Highness's opinion, to justify questions from any outsider bearing on his (the Maharána's) relations with the Government

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of India and that Government's representative, and on the policy of the Government to the Indian Princes. I am quite sure that Sir Charles Hobhouse only aimed at getting first-hand news on a problem which interested him officially, but it was characteristic of Sir Fatehsinghji's meticulous loyalty to the Government of India and its agent that he felt bound, without one moment's delay, to make the latter acquainted with the whole conversation, and I have no doubt it was the stimulus of this sense of loyal obligation that enabled him to reproduce, with terminological exactitude, a half-hour's conversation.

The winter of 1906-7 witnessed the great Durbar at Agra, organised by Lord Minto's administration in honour of the visit to India of the late Amir of Afghanistan. Many of India's Princes foregathered on the occasion—especially those who were polo players themselves or patronised a State polo team,—and since there was less official formality, and I personally had no responsibilities of any kind, I look back on the Agra gathering as the pleasantest of the several great Durbars I have witnessed. Many amusing stories were current of the doings within the precincts of the Amir's camp enclosure; and it is a fact that little of the camp furnishings and fittings which were portable remained when the Afghans left. When it is remembered, however, that this was the first occasion in history on which an Amir and his

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

followers had crossed the frontier save on a marauding expedition, and that India is to-day still regarded, across the North-Western frontier, as the milch cow which would be at any one's disposal but for the British, the astounding thing was the absence of serious incidents. It was exceedingly interesting to watch the Amir at the big review which was part of the entertainment provided. Fifty thousand troops or thereabouts marched past, and the perfection of organisation and discipline made a very obvious impression on him.

Still more interesting was it to hear the views expressed by some of the Indian Princes, and to observe their attitude to the Amir. I do not think I had realised before then the depth to which has sunk a sense of apprehension of border invasion, and consequent antipathy to the very name of Afghan.

Visitors to Udaipur often commented upon the apparent indifference displayed by the Maharána to the upkeep of the ancient monuments and cenotaphs commemorative of his predecessors. That is, in fact, one of the curious anomalies of Rajput or Hindu tradition. There is an enclosure, a mile outside the city gate, containing the monuments (*Chhatris*) of a considerable number of rulers, and most of them are rapidly falling into decay and ruin. That, perhaps, since most of them are quite unknown to fame, even within the boundaries of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

State, is not of great moment. But there is, some forty miles or more to the south, in the heart of the jungle, the *Chhatri* of the celebrated Partap Singh, successor of the Rana who lost Chitor to the Great Moghul, whose story is told on page 139 *et seq.* of Miss Gabrielle Festing's 'From the Land of Princes.'[1] I thought that the circumstances justified me in representing to His Highness how regrettable it was that the memorial to one of the greatest heroes of the Sesodia Rajputs should be in the neglected state in which I found it. The Maharána was sympathetic and, though at first reluctant, promised that he would see what could be done for its restoration. His reluctance was due not to the expense, but to the departure from precedent involved in taking any action in the matter. The custom is for the ruler, on his accession to the *gádi* (throne), to erect a *chhatri* to his immediate predecessor, but to occupy himself not at all with earlier memorials. And this custom explains why there are several *chhatris* which have never been completed. The successor had not time, before his own demise, to finish the construction of his predecessor's cenotaph. The custom itself appears to be a consequence of the Hindu view of life, which attributes but small importance to material records of ancestral doings.

During the cold weather of 1907-8 I was

[1] Smith Elder & Co.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

asked to entertain the Landgraf of Hesse and his staff, and to give them some shooting. The Maharána gladly agreed, and they went into camp with me at Jaisamand, on the dam of the greatest of Mewar's artificial lakes, some forty miles south of Udaipur, where His Highness also was encamped. The sport afforded was only mediocre, and is not worth recording, but there occurred an incident of oriental complaisance and picturesqueness, which is: the Landgraf of Hesse (a cousin of the late Queen Alexandra) was practically blind, but was most anxious to assist in all the forms of sport afforded, and, being himself unable to shoot, his particular ambition was to land a fish. Now the mahseer in that lake do not allow themselves to be caught on the rod, and it is vain to spin for them. On the other hand, the only method by which the blind Landgraf could possibly hook a fish was with a spoon from a boat. In these difficult conditions I asked the Maharána if he would lend me the services of his Rajput shikari, and to him I unfolded the problem of gratifying the Landgraf's ambition. He undertook that it should be solved if I would arrange to send His Royal Highness out in a boat with him on the following afternoon. As I was finishing my work the next evening I heard the boat party approaching and the Landgraf calling out, "Mr Hill, Mr Hill! I have caught three fish," and I have never known any one so wholly gratified

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

as he was. Two members of his staff had gone with him, and they were equally delighted.

I asked no questions at the time, but later learned from Gambhirsinghji (the shikari) how things had been managed. It was, according to him, quite simple. He had sat behind the party in the stern of the boat, and every now and again asked the Landgraf to reel in his line so that he might clear the tackle and spoon of weeds. He had three live mahseer in the bait-box beside him, and, when he could do so without being observed, he attached one to the hook and let it gently into the water. The rest was easy. But not even the boatmen—still less H.R.H.'s staff—had any inkling that the catch was not genuine. I was told in the evening by one of the latter that nothing, during the whole course of his tour, had given the Landgraf so much pleasure. Only in the orient of kingly tradition are such things possible.

. . . . . .

Far from being the "morass in Central India, chiefly inhabited by wild asses" (see p. 35 *ante*), the province of Kathiawar juts out into the Indian Ocean some two hundred and fifty miles north of Bombay, and has witnessed the passage into the interior of India of more of her invaders than any other frontier district except the Punjab; and[1] "there is hardly a clan of

[1] Preface to 'The History of Kathiawad,' by Captain Wilberforce Bell (Heinemann).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rajputs in Rajputana which does not either trace its origin" (like the Sesodias of Udaipur) "through this province, or claim connection with it either through conquest from the north or through intermarriages." On the other hand, it really is inhabited by wild asses. These wild donkeys, a species of quagga, live on the borders of the Runn of Cutch, on the northern frontier of Kathiawar. They are extraordinarily hardy and swift. It is within my personal knowledge that a large herd of them one night came all the way from the Runn to a village in the Radhanpur State, a twenty-seven mile point from their habitat, devoured a very considerable crop of a species of onion, and returned home before morning dawned.

They are beautiful little animals, marked somewhat like the doe of a black buck, only pink instead of fawn-coloured. They can apparently gallop for ever, and at a pace, over the sand, which the swiftest Arab horse can hardly maintain. Several of them, at one time or another, have been ridden down and brought into captivity, but while some, caught young, have been domesticated to the extent of being fairly amenable to an individual man, they have none of them, I believe, been sufficiently tamed for traction service. The first to be captured was ridden down, in the 'eighties, by my old friend, recently dead, His Highness Sir Wághji, Thahore Sahib of the Morvi State.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Young, a lightweight, and a keen sportsman in those days, Sir Wághji posted three or four fresh horses along the line of country which, from observation, it seemed probable his quarry, when found, would traverse. A herd of the donkeys on the march from their feeding-ground was sighted, and the Thahore Sahib, who owned a number of good horses, started in pursuit. After a while he was able to single out a particular animal, and concentrated on its capture. The scheme laid down worked well. He was able to pick up and change on to spare horses, and after a chase of, if I recollect rightly, about sixteen miles over sandy country, he found himself galloping alongside the donkey. Neither horse nor donkey could go any faster, nor could the donkey 'jink.' And then Morvi realised that he had omitted one vital adjunct. He had started without the noose with which to lassoe the animal. However, being a man 'of infinite resource and sagacity,' he took off his pagri (head-dress) of some twelve yards of muslin, managed to drop a noose of it over the head of the donkey, and brought up all standing—horse and donkey both so blown that they just stood there without attempting to move. Meanwhile one of the several sowars (horsemen) who had been instructed to watch the country and help in eventualities, rode up and succeeded in hobbling the donkey which was, later, put into a cart and brought into Morvi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The only other animal peculiar to the province is the Gir lion. During the early decades of the nineteenth century lions were still found in the Aravalli Mountains and the plains of Northern Gujarat, one of the last being killed on Mount Abu about 1835. It was supposed, though this was not quite certain, that these lions were identical with the African lion with which they were, centuries ago, linked by a continuous chain—through Sindh, Baluchistan, Seistan, Persia, and Arabia; but the sole Asiatic representatives are the forty odd now living in the Gir forest in the Junágadh State. It was unfortunately, until quite recently, the custom to permit high officials (Governors, Viceroys, and what not) and Indian Princes from time to time to kill one or more of these animals which would otherwise have been carefully preserved; and when I was in charge of the province a census, as accurate as was possible, gave their number at about forty, of which perhaps nine or ten were full-grown males. It is to be feared that, with numbers so restricted, they must become degenerate and finally die out, and this view is borne out by the following experience.

The Bombay Natural History Society wrote officially, early in 1909, drawing attention to the proximate extinction of this breed, saying that, from a scientific point of view, they would like to have a specimen for examination before it became extinct, and to add to their collection,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and pointing out that, so far as they were aware, no specimen of the skeleton of the breed had been preserved. Permission was given, and arrangements for a beat were made, by the Junágadh Durbar. Two lions were reported, one as being of fair size, the other only small. The larger one was shot and is now set up in the Bombay Natural History Society's Museum. As a lion he is a very poor specimen, but examination of the skeleton satisfied the fauna experts that he was generically identical with the African lion.

Kathiawar (or, more correctly, Kathiáwád) is so named after a tribe called Kathis, who can be traced—otherwise than mythologically—no further back than the Punjab, whence, probably at the time of Alexander, they migrated into Sindh and thence to Cutch and Kathiawar. They are interesting ethnologically, and are curiously divided into two sections, one of which are the owners of the land and the other landless. This arrangement is redressed in practice by the custom forbidding intermarriage within either section. A member of the landless class (Awartya) must marry a Sakhayat (member of the land-owning class) and *vice versa*. The land thus comes, in practice, to be shared, but it is always reabsorbed by the Sakhayat section.

Apart from the Kathis, the province is divided up into many States, large and small, ruled over by several clans of Rajputs and by Mahomedans,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

while the Gaekwar, as a relic of the Maratha domination, possesses one district. The history of the peninsula is of considerable interest to students of India's early invaders, and Captain Wilberforce Bell has given a full account of it in his book, already quoted. To casual visitors from overseas the two most interesting sights in the province are the temple of Prabhás Pátan near the ruins of Somnath, sacked in the eleventh century by Mahmoud of Ghazni, and the Asoka stone at Junágadh.

When, after the defeat of the Peshwas about 1808, we took over the suzerainty of the province from them and from their deputy suzerain, the Gaekwar, it was in a state of indescribable chaos. Every one, for a century previously, had been trying to rob every one else, and the Gaekwar had been levying a ruthless toll whenever he had time, from other marauding occupations, to turn his hand to harrying the peninsula. Our first business, therefore, was to stabilise things, and a very capable officer, Colonel Walker, was sent to draw up a settlement, demarcate frontiers, and allot to each State, however petty, the degree of independent jurisdiction which it was qualified to administer. Though there are disputes as to details still persisting, it is a fine tribute to his work to be able to record that his settlement stands good to this day, and the three hundred odd different States recognised by him form the aggregate of a patch-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

work of jurisdictions between whom we have had to maintain the *pax Britannica*.

This has meant, and still means, that the agents to the Governor and the four political agents under him, have a great deal of intricate work to do. The residuary jurisdiction in the smaller principalities is exercised by them and a special political judge, and by their assistants, and for a great many years there existed a special judicial tribunal for the hearing of inter-State disputes. Thus a considerable volume of administrative work devolves upon the political staff of the province. Though there is no seaport of the first order on the seaboard of Kathiawar, there is quite a number of small harbours, some of which have been developed to a pitch which gives them importance from the standpoint of the Imperial Customs, and quite recently a somewhat unpleasant dispute has arisen between the State of Jamnagar and the Government of India on this subject.

It will surprise no one to learn that relations between this large number of neighbouring, and often interlaced, States are not in all cases of the most amicable description, and a great deal of the time of the agent is occupied in assuaging quarrels—occasionally of a rather petty and personal character—between the rulers. Again, negotiations for matrimonial alliances not infrequently had to be undertaken, or helped forward, by him. This occasionally involved

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

visits from distinguished Princes outside the province. I had the pleasure of entertaining the late General Sir Partap Singh at Rajkot on one such occasion; and indeed not the least agreeable feature of an extremely interesting post was the opportunities afforded of gaining a close personal acquaintance, and often friendship, with rulers both Mahomedan, Hindu, and Kathi. As with every other class of human affairs, nine-tenths of the occasions for dispute arose out of misunderstanding, leading to suspicion. And, in the circumstances of Indian Kshatriya (aristocratic) society, where there are invariably hangers-on whose interest lies, or they think so, in fomenting such disputes, the smallest occasion may lead to fateful quarrels. My experience is that the first essential in all such cases is to get away from correspondence and, whenever possible, bring about personal meetings. One of the worst quarrels on the *tapis* when I went to Kathiawar was between the old friend already mentioned, the Prince of Morvi, and his brother, on the subject of the latter's portion as cadet of the house. It had been going on for ten years, during which they had not spoken to one another, and had steadily grown more and more embittered. I succeeded in getting them to agree to meet, and to thrash out their quarrel before His Highness the Jám Sahib as arbitrator. They met in the Residency, and I inducted the three of them, together with

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

two lawyers, into a room over my office. During three hours the battle literally raged; and had any one visited me during those three hours they would certainly have concluded that murder was being done upstairs. There ensued suddenly comparative stillness, and after another hour of quiescence my door opened softly and Morvi's son, the present ruler, put his head round the corner and whispered, "They've made friends." I shall always be grateful to the Jám Sahib for the indefatigable patience he displayed that day. I wish I could add that his good offices had been followed by a lasting friendship between himself and the two protagonists; but difficulties subsequently arose between Morvi and Jamnagar, the settlement of which baffled my successor.

As an illustration of one complexity of the future of British India, when the administration becomes even more Indianised than at present, I feel tempted to relate a characteristic anecdote about the late Maharaja Sir Partap Singh, then Prince of the Idar State. He had come to stay with me at the Residency, at Rajkot, in order to conclude certain negotiations for a betrothal between his house and one of the Rajput Princes in Kathiawar. Two of the Princes of the province dined with me to meet His Highness. After dinner the conversation turned upon the recent appointment of a Hindu to be a member of the Bombay Government. The Hindu in question

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

happened to be the legal adviser of one of my guests, and the latter asked me what was to happen if the new member of Council elected to visit his State. Was he to put down the red carpet at the railway station, and line the route with the armed forces of the State? Would he be compelled to fire a salute of seventeen guns in honour of his arrival, and, above all, would he, the Prince, be required, in accordance with the custom usual on such occasions, to go in person to receive him as he alighted from his railway carriage? The problem, most serious from his point of view, was sufficiently amusing, and I said that I feared he would have to conform to official etiquette and accord all the honours due to a member of Council. "But," he said, "I can't possibly do that. I've just paid him a bill for legal costs of Rs. 300. He's my retained legal adviser. What will you do if I refuse?" Sir Partap Singh was enjoying the joke in his corner of the sofa, and emitted a chuckle. The Chief turned to him and said, "What would you do, Maharaja Sahib?" to which Sir Partap Singh replied, "I falling downstairs, breaking leg, I not able to go to station."

But the dilemma represents a real problem.

During the cold weather of 1910-11 Lord Kitchener took a short holiday and spent five or six days with me in Kathiawar. I met him at the Junágadh port of Veráwal, where a camp was prepared for him, and after a couple of days

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

spent in the Junágadh State we went on to Bhownagar. I had, of course, met Lord Kitchener before, but those few days of close and unofficial contact with him revolutionised my previous conception of him. I had imagined a somewhat cold and unsympathetic personality, interested almost exclusively in the technicalities of army organisation and administration, silent and rather unapproachable. Away from his machine he proved to be the most delightful guest imaginable. I was aware that he was interested in blue china, old armour, and so forth, for he had once, after lunch, shown me his collection as arranged at Fort William. But it was a revelation to find that, once away from his files, he was like a boy out of school. The only difficulty we had with him was to get him into uniform for such functions as banquets, inspection of the States' Imperial Service Troops, and so forth. Believing that I was favourably placed for the discovery of interesting old weapons, he devoted a whole afternoon, with text-book, to my education in the matter, and left with me, for my guidance, one or two works on the subject.

But one of his most remarkable characteristics was his capacity for captivating those Indian Princes with whom he came in contact. Both the Nawab of Junágadh and the Maharaja of Bhownagar were completely carried away by their enthusiasm, and would have done anything

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for him, and counted any sacrifice well worth while. Lord Kitchener, when going over the old palace at Bhownagar, destroyed by fire several years previously, expressed to the Minister (Sir Parbhashankar Pattani, later a member of Council in Bombay) his admiration of a massive carved teak gateway, and of two carved windows in the wall above it. Nothing would satisfy the Maharaja but that these objects should be removed from the old walls and sent all the way round by sea from Bhownagar to Calcutta, to be placed in position somewhere in Fort William. Personal charm is not an attribute most people associate with the name of Lord Kitchener, but it was nevertheless his in a very remarkable degree towards any one whom he liked.

Mahatma Gándhi was born in Kathiawar. He is no doubt familiar with the history of the province. I have shown that it was the secondary gate of entry into the continent, and that the province was, in effect, the highway of India's invaders from the sea. So far as facts can be authenticated Kathiawar was, save for two brief periods, a cockpit of warring tribes, varied by these invasions. The two periods during which comparative quiescence may have ruled were during Asoka's short-lived influence and perhaps, for a short while, during the ascendancy of the Mahomedan Kings of Gujarat. Save for these rare intervals, turmoil reigned almost

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

incessantly, and it was consequently natural that we should find, in 1808, that sundry criminal and marauding tribes found the atmosphere of the province congenial. The Kathis themselves had originally been semi-nomadic cattle thieves, but had settled down into respectable citizens, troubled in turn by the depredations of the Mehers and Mianas. Even to this day it is necessary to maintain a considerable body of mounted police at the capital of the province for the suppression of sporadic outlawry. Peace was, in fact, unknown in this part of India before our advent. It is a puzzle to all, Eastern and Western alike, to understand how Mahatma Gándhi can seriously hope for the early return of the Indian Continent to a state of innocent happiness by the simple process of ejecting all Western influences. Elsewhere I endeavour to suggest an explanation of this aspiration. Gándhi is one of those ascetics who can close their eyes to the material facts of history and life's experience, and who, believing that things spiritual alone are real, is sincerely convinced that, through the spiritualisation of Hinduism, what we call the realities of life can be transmuted. He is not consistent. By the very circumstance that he appreciates and deplores the physical degeneracy of the Hindus, resulting from their early marriages and their treatment of women, he admits that spiritual revival is dependent upon sane, hygienic, and humane

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

domestic customs—in other words, that India's sickness is curable only by the application of the discoveries of Western science.

A considerable proportion of the commercial inhabitants of the sea-board towns of Kathiawar are the sect of Mahomedans known as Khoja-Ismailia—the followers of His Highness the Aga Khan. They are converts from some of the trading (Vaisya) castes of the Hindus, and combine the keen commercial instincts of their heredity with a venturesome spirit not always found among Hindus. Thus the Indian traders of the East African towns are largely Khojas, and these, on returning to their homes in places like Veráwal, Porbandar, and Jáfrabad, spend their money in building solid and comfortable dwellings. The result is to give Porbandar, for example, an appearance of well-being in striking contrast to some other towns. What is perhaps more important is the fact that the Khojas also, as a result of their foreign experiences, import a progressive spirit; and there is a great deal of interest to be learnt from these commercial magnates about affairs from Maskat and the Persian Gulf down to Dar-es-Salaam and Mauritius.

The Khojas, though so progressive, are, however, by no means always amenable, and it is interesting to mark in them the influences, on the one hand, of their peaceful (Bunya) heredity, and, on the other, of their adopted

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

religion. People who have read the preface to Fitzgerald's 'Omar Khayam' are familiar with the origin of the sect to which the Khojas belong. They are the least orthodox of Mussulmans. They hold that the Imámate of the Prophet descends to this day in the line of the family of Hassan, the founder, and that His Highness the Aga Khan is the representative of Mahomed. Hassan's was a strongly militant heresy, and violence has frequently characterised the various successions to the Imámate; and, in India, the hereditarily mild Bunya who has embraced this branch of the faith of Islam displays, on occasion, a spirit of fanaticism which is entirely alien to his ancestry. But he is a courageous, industrious, and generally very dependable trader, venturing the world over.

It is curious to reflect that Mahatma Gándhi, the mild advocate of Ahimsa (non-violence), but for ancestral accident, might have belonged to the Khojas, and to speculate as to how, in his case, the new wine of Hassan's militant creed would have influenced the inherited traits which have gone to the making of a Hindu saint.

In my Chapter V., dealing with Lord Northcote's Government in Bombay, I have referred to the famine of 1899-1900 which ravaged one-third of India, and, since a threat of scarcity in 1910-11 in Kathiawar gave me an insight

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

into the manner in which the lessons of that terrible visitation had been taken to heart by the people, it may not be out of place to give, in this place, an outline of the method upon which the Indian Governments grapple with these periodical scourges, and the development of a capacity on the part of the people themselves to combat it.

Following the great famine in the 'seventies an inquiry was set on foot, and, as a result of successive investigations, a Famine Code was drawn up as a guide to provincial administrations as to the steps to be taken immediately on threat of a failure of the monsoon rains. Provinces were required to budget for a certain surplus, to be held as a reserve, to be drawn on should the emergency arise. Instructions were given as to the class of works most suitable as relief measures; as to the establishment used for administering such operations; as to the conditions in which camps should be organised for dependants; and as to the scale of rations, &c., to be provided. Ancillary to human relief, the methods for the preservation of cattle came, in course of time, also to be included for general guidance. Above all, and for the purpose of establishing confidence, the conditions in which a remission or suspension of the land revenue dues should be granted were carefully gone into and explained. The experiences of the devastating famine of 1899-1900 caused the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government of India still further to revise and improve this Famine Code.

In 1899-1900 the severity and wide extent of the failure of the rains over tracts rarely visited by famine had stunned the agricultural population. It was with the utmost difficulty that the people could be induced to go even a short distance from their homes to organised relief works, and women and dependants, in their ignorance, actually hid from the workers seeking them out for removal to camps where they would be fed and cared for. Instances were not uncommon where a family was discovered hidden, sometimes dead of starvation, in their own desolate home, within a few miles of plenty. All this ignorance and fear added greatly to the difficulties of relief work.

When scarcity, following a partial failure of the monsoon, threatened in October ten years later, I set out on a hurried trek through the north-eastern district of Kathiawar, partly with the aim of verifying the conditions which had been reported, and partly to tell the people of the arrangements that would be made for their help. I made two very suggestive and interesting discoveries. In the first place, a very considerable store of grain had been laid in by most of the people of their own initiative; and secondly, the able-bodied workers had, in impressive numbers, gone off as far as Karachi and Bombay where they had heard that re-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

munerative employment was to be had in the docks. Now this very satisfactory feature of the case was attributable not only to the recollection of the experience of ten years previous, but to the *spread of education*. Ten years previously the average ryot of Gujarat and Kathiawar had neither interest in nor knowledge of what was happening in other parts of India. He now actually knew the rates of daily wages being paid for labour in far-off Karachi and Bombay, and laid in a store of foodstuffs in his house for his family, and was already away working on the new docks on a wage four times as high as he would have earned locally in a prosperous year.

The significance of this development is immense. Take into account the immemorial traditions of the ryot, his attendance on fate and the gods, the darkness of his ignorance until yesterday, his complete aloofness from the movements of the outer world. It is only within two or three generations that a minute proportion of the 300,000,000 cultivators has had an opportunity to learn anything beyond the traditional handiwork of their caste in their own small village boundaries. Fatefully they had learned resignation, and resignation only. Æons of Brahminical ascendancy have tended to eradicate all initiative, while periodic pillage, until the early years of the nineteenth century, had taught them the uncertainty of all mundane

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

things. The ryot never knew whether he should reap what he had sown, and he had no incentive either to improve or develop his holdings. If the gods were good, and if his overlord were merciful, he might, year by year, hope to feed himself and his family and keep alive his bullocks. No wonder that in 1900, when the awful drought came, he sat down in his house to die, and was, in so many instances, only rescued by main force. But the change in his attitude a dozen years later was little short of a miracle, and was, to me at least, one of the most encouraging symptoms of my Indian experience. Here was evidence that our work and our teaching were no longer vain and unproductive. At last we had aroused an independent instinct of self-preservation—even of self-betterment. Resignation and fatalism were giving place to resistance and initiative. The leaven of education was at work.

And indeed my four years in the second decade of this century in the part of India where I worked between 1887 and 1891 taught me that we are making real progress, however slowly. I have cited Mr Sitárám Pandit, the barrister, more than once in these reminiscences, and his observations confirmed mine. Not only were the provinces of Gujarat and Kathiawar more prosperous materially; not only were the villagers living in brick and tiled houses in villages where twenty-five years earlier I

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

recollected thatched hovels; not only were they using brass vessels and sleeping on serviceable bedsteads, where formerly earthenware and the earth had served; not only were they better fed and stronger, but they were beginning to hold their heads up morally. Meagre and inadequate as is the education supplied by the State in rural areas, there were nevertheless not lacking products of that teaching in most villages, able to speak for themselves, to represent their case, and to express their grievances without invoking the headman, or the Brahmin, or the Bunya.

We have seen, of recent years, collective action attempted by the cultivating castes in various parts of India, and it has occasionally been regarded as an ominous circumstance that such action has been undertaken at the instigation of political agitators. I am disposed to regard the fact as encouraging from two points of view. In the first place, the politicians are learning that popular support is a necessity to them; and secondly, the ryot will, in time, as a result, begin to think. What is above all things essential at the present juncture is that the consciousness of the people at large should be aroused, and that it should be an informed consciousness. The British administration, which has always aimed at impartial justice for all, has a very special responsibility for the care of the silent tillers of the soil. Their protection

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

has ever been the particular aim of English administrators. In the process of educating them to a better understanding of their rights and privileges, we shall inevitably arouse among them the healthy though sometimes troublesome sentiment of discontent, and it should not disturb us unduly if at times that spirit appears to vent itself against us. It is almost inconceivable that it could be otherwise. That the ryot, as he begins to understand and to think, may be the victim of mistaken enthusiasms, that he will be utilised by, and made the tool of, political and other campaigns, and that he will be frequently a bad judge of his own interests, may be taken for granted. But in the long-run his common-sense will assert itself, and his informed opinions will no longer be the sport of the agitator. In the bottom of his being, the toiler of the rural districts in British India knows where impartial justice and a sympathetic hearing are to be had; and while there will be outbursts of fanatical excitement under the stress of a rising national, or rather racial, sentiment, it may be hoped that the wider and deeper extension of education and a gradual improvement in its quality will afford a safeguard against excess. For the cultivator will be a better and sounder thinker than is the noisier section, the product of the schools and Universities at the present day. He has his occupation and calling—a calling far more

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a part of his very being than is conceivable among peoples less the thrall of heredity and caste. A great deal of the discontent which is so vocal in the towns is occasioned by the lack of occupation and the absence of responsibility. That our educational system is in part to blame for this is doubtless true, and it is even alleged that the extension of secondary education in country districts is tending to tempt the hereditary farmer from his fields to the softer jobs. But it is too soon, as yet, to base an opinion on sporadic instances of this.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER VIII.

MEMBER OF COUNCIL, BOMBAY, 1912-1915.

RACING LEGISLATION—BOMBAY DEVELOPMENT —THE GREAT WAR.

SIR GEORGE SYDENHAM CLARK (now Lord Sydenham), whose memoirs have recently been published, had come as Governor to Bombay in 1908, and had brought to that Presidency a large measure of the energising influence which Lord Curzon had imparted to the Government of India. His profound scientific attainments, coupled with his wide administrative experience, were of the greatest possible value, particularly as many important matters were pending in regard to which his special knowledge and qualifications were peculiarly apposite. Lord Sandhurst's Government had inaugurated the Bombay Improvement Trust, which had already done much good work in replanning some of the most congested portions of the city, which was already being transformed in its most conspicuous wards, but much remained to be done on a rather wider

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

basis. Irrigation schemes, long under consideration in Sindh and elsewhere, needed his skilled guidance to get them into practicable shape. University reform awaited his stimulus. The development of agricultural education was to profit by his guidance. I personally had had experience, while his Agent in Kathiawar, of his wise and firm handling of political problems. An influentially supported agitation had been promoted, by interested parties, calling in question the legitimacy of one of the minor Princes in the province, and a demand was put forward that Government should appoint a Commission of Inquiry into the circumstances of his recognition, some fourteen years previously, as heir to the *gádi* (throne). It was one of those cases in which evidence of all kinds can only too easily be manufactured, while such an inquiry, in the absence of the strongest *prima facie* justification, could do little but cause offence to all Rajput princely houses. Nevertheless, with our desire to do the most exact justice, there is too often a tendency to think it best to sift matters to the bottom. I had reported strongly deprecating a course which amounted to unjustifiable intervention in a matter, not only of internal concern to the Rajput State, but one which, by implication, called in question the *bona fides*, as well as the express wishes, of the Prince's deceased father, who had been a wise, loyal, and progressive ruler. The Political Department of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bombay Government was evidently disposed to overrule my view, for I was summoned to Bombay to meet the Governor and his Council. I had a very strenuous argument with them, which lasted for two hours, and I had left the august body fearing that the decision would be adverse. However, as we sat down to lunch a little later, Lord Sydenham whispered in my ear, "It's all right; you've got your way," and I know that it was his wise attitude which averted an inquisition which would have been, in the eyes of all our Indian allies, a calamitous scandal.

What confronted me first, on my appointment to Lord Sydenham's Council in 1912, was, however, a task wholly unconnected with the ordinary course of political administration. I had always been interested in horse-racing, and, in a very modest way, had owned ponies and ridden them at gymkhana meetings here and there. When with Lord Lamington as his Political Secretary, in 1904, I had officiated as Steward of the West of India Turf Club, and I suppose that it was for this reason that that body elected me a Steward immediately after my joining Lord Sydenham's Government. As a consequence I was compelled forthwith to undertake the somewhat difficult task of carrying through the Legislative Council a Bill for the abolition of bookmakers on the Poona and Bombay racecourses, and for the establishment of the Totalisator in their place. The measure had been promoted by Lord Syden-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ham, but, unfortunately, it was rigorously opposed by the European community, as well as by a majority of the Indians, partly on the mistaken ground that it would kill racing, but even more, I think, because there had been but little consultation between my predecessor on the Council, who was in charge of the Bill, and the racing community. Whether or not my election to be a Steward was partly dictated by the hope that I should use my influence to kill the Bill I cannot say; but, if it was inspired by such a hope, the Stewards must have been grievously disappointed, for I was very strongly convinced of the urgent need for such legislation.

I had to confer with my brother Stewards, and as the only hope of carrying them with me, I did so informally as a fellow-Steward, and not in my capacity as a member of the Government. The arguments I used are now familiar enough, even in England, though at that date they had to be imported from the experience gained in Australia and France; and eventually it was possible to carry our legislation not only without European opposition, but with their support, while Indian objection, levelled mainly against the licensing of betting on the Totalisator which the measure involved, proved to be very slender and ill-informed.

It may not be amiss to give an outline of the consequences of this piece of legislation.

In the first place, since betting on the Totali-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sator requires ready money, credit betting, which had occasioned several tragedies among rash and inexperienced young Indians, practically ceased —not entirely, because it was impossible completely to end 'bucket-shop' betting, or to abolish 'commission agents,' especially in view of the fact that bookmakers were (and are) still recognised by the Calcutta Turf Club.

In the second place, malpractices ceased. Where horses are backed mechanically, all the incentives to affect the racing results disappear. If a man's business in life is to back the field, he must see that that business earns him a livelihood. He can only secure that end in one of two ways. Like the roulette table, he must give slightly less than the true odds, or else he must take steps to influence the result. In actual practice the bookmaker does the former as a matter of business principle; the latter is done occasionally. This is not said to smirch the character of a profession many members of which are as honourable as any one else. But we know it to be the lamentable fact.

Again, owners of horses come under two categories. There are those who, loving the animal and the sport, are rich enough to be indifferent to gains. There is the much larger class who, equally loving the horse and the sport, can only afford to carry on the game if they are enabled from time to time to win big money; for neither in England now, nor in India before 1913, were

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the stakes or prizes adequate to finance training and ownership and all the other expenses incidental to a racing stable.

Now the owners in 1912 hotly opposed the introduction of the Totalisator on the ground that they could never bring off a *coup*, since the Totalisator shows mechanically how many tickets are taken on each horse, and thus informs the public of the odds. A *coup* is a euphemism for a score off the bookmaker and the public; and while it is necessary, under bookmaker rule, as a reward making it worth while for the breeder to breed and the owner to own, it carries with it certain obvious consequences. These are, perhaps, most politely expressed by saying that it is not always financially possible for a racehorse to do his best.

The third factor, influenced by this conflict between owners and bookmakers, is the jockey. He is the servant of the owner and trainer, and has to obey their orders. He is also a very human person with (occasionally) human failings.

My experience as a Steward of the West of India Turf Club, prior to the coming into force of the Bombay Racing Act, was that there was hardly a race over which there was not some dispute or objection, and that it was no exceptional case for the Stewards to have to meet three or four times during a day's racing, and to be detained for an hour, or even two, after the racing was over to consider disciplinary action.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

On and after the coming into operation of the new legislation all this ceased. It was the rarest occurrence for us to have to meet during the racing, and when we had it was usually on account of a complaint by one jockey against another of unintentional interference, or of other minor disputes.

As to the fears of the owners, our experience in the West of India was precisely the same as in Australia. The Turf Club takes 10 per cent of the Totalisator investments. Within one year we were in a position to offer four times the money value in prizes for winners, and to give substantial rewards for second and third places; within five years the money offered in prizes was ten times greater than in 1913, and the Stewards had been enabled to rebuild and enlarge the racecourse premises, greatly to the convenience of the public, and to give away annually large sums to the most deserving charities. Instead of the owners of the best horses withdrawing from racing in the Bombay Presidency, entries greatly increased, and one may confidently conclude that the large increase in added money and in prizes for second and third places has more than compensated for the lack of opportunity to achieve *coups*.

I have perhaps devoted an undue amount of space to this question, but as the whole betting problem is very much to the fore in England at the moment, and as the Jockey Club have

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

recently recommended the introduction of the Totalisator, and a Bill [1] is now before Parliament, it seems possible that our experiences in Western India may be of some interest. The Stewards in Bombay were throughout greatly indebted to Colonel Arthur Young, who is now Official Handicapper to the Pony Turf Club, for the smoothness with which the changes, following on the Bombay Racing Act, were introduced and carried through.

Lord Sydenham's time expired in 1913; but before he left he had laid sound foundations for the prosecution of the scheme for the development of Bombay city. He had also most carefully investigated the various projects for the provision of permanent irrigation for Sindh. As regards the former, it was his desire that public opinion should be carefully sounded, and that the alternative methods for meeting the urgent need of expansion should be explored. In pursuance of this policy, which was endorsed by Lord Willingdon, a Development Committee was nominated, representative of every interest in the town and island of Bombay, to investigate the whole problem and report their recommendations. As Chairman of that Committee, I had a most interesting experience. Of the fourteen or fifteen members comprising it, all but two were Indians. The work of taking the evidence of all the interests involved, and of all the experts,

[1] Since the above was written the Bill has become law.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

occupied just over three months, and only one month was needed, on the conclusion of the evidence, to get the Report into shape. And the Report was unanimous. It was one of the most businesslike and practical Committees on which I have ever sat.

I cite this Report, and lay emphasis upon the capacity and businesslike spirit displayed by a large and representative, as well as almost wholly Indian, Committee, because it was one of several indications, in the opinion of Lord Willingdon and myself, of the possibility and desirability in the Bombay Presidency of largely increasing the association of Indians in the labours and responsibilities of the administration. Another of these indications was the manner in which Bombay Legislative Council handled the Bombay Town Planning Act, the first piece of legislation of its kind to be introduced into India, and one which, since it involved the principle of the needs of the community taking precedence over individual vested rights, might have been expected to arouse factious opposition from a legislature on which the proprietary and legal classes were more strongly represented than the man in the street. With Lord Willingdon's full support, I referred this Bill to a Select Committee consisting wholly of Indians, except for myself as Chairman ; and at the conclusion of the Select Committee's deliberations, the expert adviser gave it as his opinion that the measure was a

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

great improvement on the Bill as it had been introduced.

These and other experiences convinced us that —in the Bombay Presidency at all events—it would be quite possible to extend the franchise, enlarge the Legislative Council, and dispense with the official majority which the Morley-Minto reforms had retained, and I can adduce even stronger evidence for this view. On one of the last evenings before his departure from Bombay, Lord Sydenham, reviewing in conversation the state in which he was leaving the Presidency to his successor, summarised the position by saying to me, " In fact, we could govern Bombay quite well without the retention of the official majority." I cherished this observation in my heart, and Lord Willingdon tested it in the manner already described, with the result that, when I was appointed by Lord Hardinge in 1915 to be a member of the Governor-General's Council, I took with me a long note, signed by Lord Willingdon and myself, setting forth the liberalising changes which we thought the Bombay Presidency was ripe for. Although Lord Hardinge, heavily preoccupied with the early stages of the Mesopotamian campaign and the despatch of Indian troops to Europe, was unable personally to undertake the study of our suggestions, he left on record in 1916 a note for his successor (Lord Chelmsford), in which the necessity for considering the question of reforms was brought

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

prominently to notice. Lord Chelmsford immediately took the matter up, and the Home Department of his Government, taking our note as the starting-point, commenced their examination of the problem.

Nothing is further from my aim than to enter here upon a controversial discussion of the Indian reforms as they eventually emerged in the Government of India Act of 1919; but I believe it may serve a useful purpose to record, as above, the genesis of things. More than once in these pages I have laid stress upon the wide divergency of race, language, capacity, tradition, and outlook of the different categories of India's inhabitants; and in describing, in Chapters II. and III., some of the problems confronting the administrator in India, I have, by implication as well as explicitly, shown how inevitable, in a bureaucracy, is a tendency to uniformity. In the old days (bad or good according to the reader's point of view), when a Local Government sent up proposals for action of any kind for the approval of the Government of India, the latter examined it from every point of view, and particularly from the standpoint of other provinces where conditions might appear to be similar. Sometimes it even happened that, with a view to enabling the proposals to be universally adopted, the Government of India themselves decided to legislate on the matter in hand, with such adaptation of the original suggestions as would suit all

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

conditions. This is what happened in the case of the reforms. From Bombay came ideas which those responsible for that Presidency knew to be workable there. For a variety of very cogent reasons it was, unfortunately, found to be impossible—or at least very undesirable—to propose legislation of such a character for one province alone. One can well picture the excitement and indignation that would seize Bengal at the suggestion that Bombay should have a charter more liberal than her own. Yet the true criticism of what was thought appropriate for the Bombay Presidency is that it may not have been entirely suitable even for every part of that province.

That, then, is the real dilemma. Policy dictated—perhaps rightly dictated—that if there were to be a measure for liberalising governmental institutions in India, it must be one which, in its main features, could be applied to the whole country. Legislation (which, in matters of constitutional change, must be undertaken by the Imperial Parliament) could hardly be devised for each province of India separately. The proposed changes, suited to one locality, had to be reviewed and revised with a regard to conditions elsewhere. Local Governments must all be consulted. Measures visualised to meet developments in one province must be modified lest they fail to fall into line with developments elsewhere. In fine, by seeking a common measure,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

it becomes necessary to deny to the most advanced areas reforms suited to their condition lest others be offended, or else, on the other hand, a measure of responsibility has to be extended to areas which may be quite unfitted to receive it.

Owing to the outbreak of the Great War, progress along lines already prepared by Lord Sydenham's Government in the departments of education and agriculture was seriously interrupted. This was the more unfortunate in that relations between the administration and the legislature and general public had never, in my experience, been better or more cordial than they were during Lord and Lady Willingdon's *régime* at Government House. There were a thousand evidences of this when the war did burst upon the world. The measure in which the public followed the energetic lead given by the Governor in raising funds for the Red Cross, in providing hospital accommodation and fittings, in supplying comforts of all kinds, in giving personal service as well as contributing money, was a proof of the co-operative spirit which at that period animated all the informed sections of the community in the Western Presidency; and it was a real calamity that circumstances should have arrested progress and development in so many directions.

The British Empire had its share of luck in the early days of the war. I have heard, for example, that the mobilisation scheme providing

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for the despatch to France of the original British Expeditionary Force was only completed a day or so before the 4th August 1914; and it is common knowledge that the perfect precision and success with which that scheme was carried into effect was not only one of the great exploits of the war, but was a factor essential to the ultimate success in 1918 of the Allies' cause. In a lesser degree, it was good fortune which enabled India to contribute effectively in October and November, 1914, to the stabilisation of the Western Front. The great Alexandra Dock in Bombay was on the very point of completion in August 1914, and it was found possible to utilise it forthwith for military purposes, including the accommodation of all shipping connected with the transport of troops; and if that dock had not been available it would have been physically impossible to fit out and despatch to France and elsewhere, as promptly as was desired, the great fleets which transported, within two months of the commencement of hostilities, some 100,000 troops, fully equipped, to the various fields of action. There were few more impressive sights, in the far away portions of the British Empire, than the stately departure from Bombay Harbour of the fleets conveying reinforcements to the battle fronts in Europe, Mesopotamia, East Africa and, later, Egypt and Palestine. The silence with which the crowds along the sea-front watched the majestic progress down the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

harbour to the sea, two abreast, of the flotilla of troop-ships, with their escorting cruisers, seemed to reflect a solemn appreciation of the momentous issues at stake; while the spectacle itself illustrated, as nothing else could have done, the world-wide character of the struggle which was centred in far-off Europe.

Again, it happened that the new buildings for the Natural History Museum and the Science Institute (bearing Lord Sydenham's name) were approaching completion; and both of these were got ready, through the energy of all concerned, in time to receive their melancholy complement of wounded and disabled from the distant battle-fields. And as one of those responsible for the administration of the Museum Hospital in the early months of the struggle, I am glad here to testify to the generosity and public spirit of the citizens of Bombay. While all that officialdom could do was done for the sufferers—British, Gurkha, Pathan, Sikh, Rajput, Maratha, Hindustani, or Madrassi,—much was necessarily left over to private initiative; and I know that Lord and Lady Willingdon, who themselves gave such a shining example of devotion and self-sacrifice, would be the first to endorse my testimony to the ready response to all demands on individuals as well as on the community at large which we made from time to time to supplement official endeavour. Work parties laboured incessantly; doctors—Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

European—gave their services unstintedly and gratis; men and women visitors of every colour, creed, and race offered their help; and Bombay citizenship did all it could for the relief of suffering and the alleviation of pain.

In going the rounds of the hospitals (which began to fill even before Christmas 1914) one met with a surprising amount of cheery optimism, even among those most hopelessly maimed; and occasionally—especially on the part of the North Indian races—a sparkle of real enthusiasm for the magnificence of the fight they had taken part in. And sometimes there was an element of humour. On one occasion, after I had been talking to a newly arrived Madrassi sepoy who had been badly wounded in East Africa, I turned to the next bed, in which was a Pathan who had lost a leg in France, and who had been listening rather contemptuously to my talk with the Southern Hindu. I asked the Afridi where *he* had received his wound (meaning in what portion of his anatomy), whereupon he sat up in bed, asked me for a pencil, and proceeded, with a small sheet of paper, to explain: "Here, Sahib, is Belgium *Mulk* (country); here is Germany *Mulk* (marking off each in the upper portion of the sheet), and here (indicating the left-hand lower corner) is France *Mulk*, and I was wounded just *there* (making a large cross at the bottom of the sheet). And," he added, "it *was* a fight!" He really seemed to think it had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been well worth while to lose a leg to see it; and it is not improbable that, in his tribal home, he is to this day exciting the envy of his less fortunate relatives who missed it.

Endeavours were made to supplement the official supply of wooden legs with articulated limbs through private beneficence. These were popularly known (in all the Indian vernaculars) as 'rrubberr' legs; and to avoid jealousy, as time went on, it became necessary to furnish 'rrubberr' limbs to all who asked for them. In the majority of cases, as was discovered later in their homes, the proud possessors of these used them only as exhibition toys, and confined practical usage to the ordinary wooden limb.

So absorbing—to the exclusion of almost all else—were the special preoccupations of the war in the cold weather of 1914-15 that but little of the ordinary work of administration remains in one's memory. Incidentally, with the strain put upon provincial finances by the situation, works of development and all progressive schemes were temporarily stayed; but the real truth is that, in India as elsewhere, interest in local matters was temporarily paralysed. The grim spectacle of the fleet of transports conveying overseas a huge proportion of India's armed forces had served, in Bombay at least, as a token. Judging by what I saw later of all the rest of India, during my service as member of the Government of India, other provinces (even the Punjab) never

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

realised to the same degree as Bombay city did the magnitude of the struggle in progress in Europe, or the nature of the effort which India was making on behalf of the Empire and Allies. In Bombay, and among Bombay politicians, the activities in the dockyards and the thousands peopling the hospitals served as an ocular demonstration of the crisis through which the world was passing.

To those capable of reflection they did more. It would be absurd to claim, and untrue to say, that there was widespread appreciation by the people of the issues involved. It would be still more absurd to assert that the population of India by conviction ranged themselves voluntarily behind the Government of India and the Empire. Nevertheless it may be claimed, on sound reasoning, that the great majority of the *intelligentsia* of the country—that small percentage which at present claims to voice India's sentiments—did genuinely feel that civilisation, and particularly the traditional civilisation known as Hinduism, demanded that they support the cause for which the Allies were at war. This was shown in 1918 at a great conference held at Delhi in April, of which I shall have more to say later; and it explains the miracle inherent in the fact that India, while contributing 1,800,000 combatants to the various battle fronts overseas, remained peaceful, orderly, and immune from those communal and other internal troubles

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which, in normal times, ruffle the surface of the *pax Britannica*.

The long procession of transports creeping out of Bombay Harbour and disappearing into the Western haze has a definite significance. From the dawn of history until the nineteenth century the Indian peninsula has been the goal of all adventurers. India has been mythically the home of wealth and luxury; and she has been the victim, throughout the ages, of the covetousness, greed, and ambition of the nations of the world. Napoleon himself was, like Alexander, obsessed with the vision of the Oriental splendour which clothes the myth, and he schemed for the downfall of England through the conquest of Hindustan. Amorphous, incoherent, babbling a hundred tongues, Mother India has lain helpless at the mercy of whosoever came armed. Debilitated by poverty and want, emasculated by her social system, how was she to resist? No wonder that no dynasty or power reigning in India had ever before carried war outside her frontiers.

When Lord Beaconsfield in 1878 brought a few Bengal Lancers to Malta, with a view to impressing Russia with the might of the British Empire's armed resources, he must have done so much in the spirit in which a stage manager arranges his cardboard scenery—to create an atmosphere rather than to help the actors in their parts. Even he, with his Oriental men-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tality, can hardly have dreamed that one day, within half a century too, the scene which he staged would be enacted in grim reality, and that India's manhood, instead of a picturesque handful of troopers, would contribute nearly two million fighters to the cause of world freedom. The miracle is that, for the first time in history, India has called up her martial races, not hopelessly, for a forlorn struggle for house and home, but to send them out into the world to take sides in the great fight on behalf of civilisation and liberty.

It is not so long since it was axiomatic to hold that India was held by the sword; that we were able to maintain peace and quiet there with our handful of Civil Servants, thanks, as Kipling somewhere says, to the "occasional smile of a British bayonet." This, except for the critical days of the Mutiny, never has been true; but the experience of the Great War has, let us hope, definitely disposed of the legend. If there had not been a willing acquiescence on the part of India in submission to the only authority in many centuries which has tried to rule the land impartially for the benefit of the people, maintaining, for a longer period than ever before, that peace which is essential for any real progress or prosperity, the armed forces of the British Crown would have been of themselves powerless to maintain its authority. Lord Hardinge's Government, in August 1914, in consenting as

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

it did to denude India of practically all her first-line troops, showed that it, at all events, had outgrown that belief. It knew that a risk was being taken, but it was a risk not of disturbance from within but of attack from without; and the reality of the hazard was manifested in 1919 —fortunately after the termination of the Great War, — when, under impulsion from without, Afghanistan sought an opportunity of advantage from the Government of India's embarrassments.

To me, at least, the endless procession of troopships gliding out of Bombay Harbour on their long voyage to the distant battle-fronts appeared in the light of a symbol. If, indeed, "ye shall know them by their fruits," then the British in India must have wrought well.

I am endeavouring, on another page (Chapter X.) to weigh some of the social and socio-political problems which have embarrassed us in the past, and which must complicate the future of India for many generations to come; and before leaving my period as member of Lord Willingdon's Council in Bombay, I want to record one step which he took in the direction of a solution of one of those problems. Rooted in the difference in the family life and social customs of East and West, the English in India, when planting there the club tradition, being desirous that those institutions should conform, in all amenities and practices, to the corresponding institutions at home, with singular unanimity everywhere

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

adopted the rule that no Indian should be eligible for membership or should be admitted into the club premises. Such a step was perfectly intelligible in the early days of the evolution of European social life in the East. Club life was absolutely unknown to the Indian, and the idea that some day there might be a question of the emancipation of Indian women from their complete seclusion would have been scouted on all hands. This state of affairs continued unquestioned, and indeed without suspicion that any question of a serious kind could ever arise therefrom, until, in the 'eighties of last century, two tendencies began to manifest themselves. On the one hand, Indian gentlemen who had undergone European education began to return to India, some of them as members of the Crown Services; and these, as holding His Majesty's Commission, not unnaturally expected to be admitted to social equality with their English *confrères*. Again, Indian Princes, in increasing numbers, began to receive a public school and university education in Europe. On the other hand, with the permeation of education on Western lines among enlightened Indians, movements were started for the education and emancipation of their ladies.

It is evident, therefore, that a situation was developing which would profoundly modify the considerations which, years before, had justified the European club rule. On the other hand, it

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is only right to state that the change is not yet so widespread and complete that all justification for it has disappeared. Indian society is, in fact, in a condition of transition. There are already, especially in the west of India, many Hindu, Parsi, and Mahomedans whose family life conforms closely in its general features to our own. Princes, merchants, and professional men have, in many instances, acquired the club habit, and are honoured members of clubs in England. It is no longer reasonable—if, indeed, it ever was necessary or wise—to legislate for our social institutions on the basis of racial discrimination. The theory of a club is that the members elected thereto are to be trusted to behave in general accord with the standards of the institution. An exclusive rule of the kind in question is, *ex hypothesi*, an expression of distrust of the individual members, and constitutes, therefore, a greater insult to them than to the classes explicitly excluded from membership. But even admitting for the moment that there may be some reason, apart from distrust of themselves, for excluding Indians from membership, what can be said in defence of the clubs which retain a rule excluding Asiatics from the club premises?

I myself have suffered the humiliation of driving a very distinguished Indian to the portals of the Bombay Yacht Club, where I had a message to deliver to a member, and where I was debarred even from inviting him to wait for me in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the hall. It was not he, but I, who had reason to feel insulted by this.

Prejudice and ignorance are, however, difficult to overcome, and Club Committees in India, composed often of enlightened and experienced men, are at the mercy of the general body of the members. Attempts have been made by a succession of Governors and high officials in several provinces to effect a change which would remove a bilateral grievance, but hitherto without success. The establishment of clubs open to members of all races, without distinction—such as the Orient Club in Bombay and the Calcutta Club in Calcutta,—have done something towards easing the difficulty; but, owing to the peculiar characteristics of Indian Society, it has not solved the problem. Lord Willingdon determined to approach the matter in another fashion. He invited a number of Princes, and of Indian gentlemen who, from their training and mode of life might be described as 'clubable,' and a selection of Englishmen falling within the same category, to meet him and to discuss the possibility of founding a Sports Club more or less on the lines of the Khedivial Club in Cairo. The idea was popular, and the Willingdon Sports Club in Bombay is now the pleasantest possible cosmopolitan meeting-place. It is administered by a Committee on which there is proportionate representation of all the communities, and its existence promises (or at least did promise) to

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

be a stepping-stone towards the elimination of a very real social difficulty.

Lord and Lady Willingdon did much for the Bombay Presidency in a great variety of directions. I hope and believe that, in consenting to sponsor the Willingdon Sports Club, they did something which will bear fruit over a wider area. It was with the keenest regret that my wife and I left them in 1915 to take up the post of member of the Viceroy's Council.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER IX.

MEMBER OF COUNCIL, SIMLA AND DELHI, 1915-1920.

WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DURING THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER, 1915-1920.

OVERSHADOWED as it was by the clouds of the war, and later by the difficult problems which succeeded it, my period of service as member of the Government of India was anything but normal, and the ordinary activities of the departments over which I presided were of necessity often diverted into special channels. Not only was India denuded, as already related, of first-line troops, but, in so far as the indispensable needs of the administration permitted, officers in the civil departments were allowed to join up, with the result that, during those times of peculiar stress and anxiety, with additional burdens weighing heavy upon every one, the services were understaffed while the demands upon them were exceptionally exacting. I have seen no compendious statistics of the effect of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

all this, but it is within the knowledge of all who served in India, between the years 1914 and 1920, that the strain of the work and responsibility took a heavy toll. Men and women alike, unable to take leave and secure change and rest, suffered in health and nerves—some never to recover. I have seen a good deal of the machinery and *personnel* of the administration in many lands since my retirement from the Indian service, and I think it is true to say that in no country in the world is a heavier burden of labour laid upon the public services in normal times than in India. During the strenuous years of the war every one, in every quarter of the globe, devoted themselves as never before to the task of 'carrying on'; but, although we were fortunately immune in India from the imminent catastrophes incidental to the struggle of the battle-fronts, it may be doubted whether any one, anywhere, led a more difficult or strenuous life than the small band of officials, British and Indian, who, in the plains of India, had to carry on as usual, in depleted numbers, the ordinary daily round of administration, as well as the additional duties connected with recruitment and other special services in aid of the war, and to maintain a normal, confident, and cheerful outlook in the face of the innumerable rumours of disaster which were current from time to time. While the vast majority acquiesced in and approved of the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

courageous policy of Lord Hardinge's government, which for a time depleted the country's defences, there existed during the early days of the war a negligible minority that added to the complexities of the situation by panicky criticisms and cavillings. This minority was composed of those 'of little faith,' who ignorantly clung to the outworn belief that we were still holding India 'by the sword'; and these were intensely relieved by the arrival, towards the end of 1914 and early in 1915, of the various units of Territorials who came to replace the regular troops. With one of these battalions came Lord Chelmsford, who was a year later to be selected to succeed Lord Hardinge as Viceroy.

It was to officiate for Sir Harcourt Butler as member in charge of Education in India, that I first joined Lord Hardinge's Council in April 1915; but, on Sir Harcourt's return from leave in August, I took over, permanently, Sir Robert Carlyle's portfolio of Revenue, Agriculture, and Public Works. It fell to my lot, however, in addition, to organise and administer the Foodstuffs and Transport Board, to be a member of Boards dealing with War Pensions and Gratuities and Recruiting, and later, on the death of that fine administrator, Sir Pardey Lukis, to take over the Chairmanship of the Indian Red Cross which Sir Pardey had managed to create. I shall have something to say about these later on, but mention is made of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

them now as an illustration of the fact that the preoccupations of the war overshadowed every phase of the administration.

While these Memoirs in no sense aim at giving a history of the military operations with which the Government of India were more immediately concerned, it is necessary, I think, for an appreciation of the atmosphere prevailing in India as the war dragged its slow length along, to recall in a few sentences the progress of events in Mesopotamia in order to show the reaction upon Army Headquarters and the administration generally.

In April 1915, on my arrival at Simla, General Sir Arthur Barrett was still in command in Mesopotamia, and there was a spirit of optimism in Army Headquarters as to the campaign on the Tigris. General Townshend stayed with us at 'Peterhof' for three weeks before returning to take command of the advance on Baghdad, which was to terminate so disastrously at the end of 1915 at Kut. From then on the clouds descended, and throughout 1916 there ensued a period of unrelieved gloom, which was to be brightened somewhat by the arrival, as Commander-in-Chief, of that gallant optimist and splendid soldier, Sir Charles Monro. Looking back, I think that, with the exception of the anxious days of March and April 1918, to which I shall have to refer later, the moments of deepest depression were in May and July 1916, when respectively we received the news of the Battle

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of Jutland and of Lord Kitchener's death. The former happened in Simla to coincide with an occasion when Lord and Lady Chelmsford were lunching with my wife and me at Annandale, the pretty playground, in a fold of the hills, some 700 feet below the ridge of Simla, where races, horse shows, football matches, *et hoc genus omne*, take place. I happened to be President of the Club while I was in Simla, and it was our policy, for psychological reasons, to keep things going as far as possible normally. I think it was a race meeting that was being held on the day in May when the Viceroy, just before riding down to lunch with us, received the telegram regarding Jutland which was so much criticised. Lord Chelmsford handed it to me as we sat down, and it certainly conveyed to us the impression that we had suffered a disaster—nay, more, that unthinkable thing, a disaster at sea. Read and re-read it as we might, we could hardly interpret that message otherwise; and our concern was to think how it could be published without causing a panic in the public mind. If I remember correctly, it was decided to hold up the news altogether until we could know more definitely and clearly the extent of our and the enemy's losses, and the moral effect in Europe of the engagement.

Then followed, in July, the shock of Lord Kitchener's death—to the public mind almost as ominous to the cause of the Allies as would have been a naval defeat. India had known

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Lord Kitchener well. He enjoyed, as I have said elsewhere, a great personal popularity with and ascendancy over all those Indian Princes and other eminent personalities with whom he had come in contact. It had been widely understood, six years earlier, that he was likely to return to India as Viceroy. The unanimity with which approval had greeted his appointment as Secretary of State for War in August 1914, and the enthusiasm which he had infused into the cause of recruitment to his New Army, had, in India's eyes, established him as the one personality indispensable to a successful prosecution of the war. It is, therefore, hardly to be wondered at that his death—more especially, perhaps, in the circumstances which attended it—seemed to bode a greater tragedy than the loss of several battles.

Elsewhere, and in Europe in particular, the darkest days of the war were probably those which marked the greatest success of the unrestricted German submarine effort, from March 1917, and the last great advance of the Germans in April 1918; but to the informed Indian public I believe those days of 1916 to have appeared the most critical and ominous.

But ever, and without intermission, was the imminent preoccupation with the North-West Frontier, and, after the Russian revolution of 1917, the certainty that, sooner or later, every incentive would be offered to Afghanistan to seize the opportunity of the British Empire's

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

embarrassments to attack India. It is not, perhaps, realised in England upon what a slender thread, even in normal times, depends the maintenance of peace along those turbulent and rugged marches which separate the Indian Empire from Afghanistan; still less, how easy it becomes to find a pretext for a quarrel between these two powers, in connection with punitive measures which circumstances so often require of us as reprisals for raids by the independent and lawless tribesmen inhabiting the neutral belt. In the later months of the war we were to have the Waziris on our hands; but, by great good-fortune, it was not until after the European struggle was over that the fermentation in Afghanistan came to a head.

Meanwhile the ordinary work of the Government had to be carried on, and the first matter of prime importance to claim attention in the Education Department was the *impasse* that had been reached between the Government of India and the University of Calcutta. At that time, having inherited the position from the days when the Viceroy and Governer-General was also, *ex officio*, Governor of Bengal, the Viceroy was still Chancellor of the University of Calcutta—an anomalous state of affairs which has since been rectified. The Governor of Bengal is now Calcutta's Chancellor. Ever since Lord Curzon's measures for reforming the administration of the Universities, there had been chronic

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

disagreement and misunderstanding between the Chancellor and the local Bengali Vice-Chancellor, resulting in continual quarrels and interminable correspondence. The policy of the Education Department was to secure stricter control of the affiliated colleges by the University authorities, to raise the standard of discipline within the colleges, and to reform abuses which had crept into the examinations. It was feared in Calcutta, not without some reason, that the policy of reform might lead to the establishment of Universities at other centres, thus restricting the sphere of influence and importance of the older institution; and the spirit of the old political antagonism, originating in the agitation against the partition of the unwieldy province of Bengal, served to embitter the controversy. The time seemed opportune for an independent inquiry by a Commission of unimpeachable impartiality and unquestioned authority in matters educational, and Lord Chelmsford took the wise course of appointing a Universities Commission, with Sir Michael Sadler as Chairman, which sat in India from 1917 to 1919.

Having gravitated, long before Sir Michael came to India, to the Revenue, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, I was not in touch with the actual proceedings of his Commission; but in the matter of agricultural education, then very much to the fore in people's minds, I had occasion from time to time to cross

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their trail. A great deal has been said and written, both in India and Europe, by theorists on the subject of giving a 'bias,' of one kind or another, to primary education; and in India it is not infrequently, if spasmodically, urged that, since the country is so preponderatingly agricultural, an 'agricultural bias' should be given in the primary schools. Practical endeavour has been made in some provinces to achieve this —partly by the preparation of text-books specially designed to that end, and partly by the provision of space for a garden, attached to the school, for the promotion of interest in its practical application. Now all such ideas and schemes should be acknowledged with grateful respect, and it is only by experiment that theories can be tested in practice. But in this matter of education—as, indeed, at every point in the maze of governing India—it is important to remember the existence of the caste system. A theory in the void may be perfectly logical and sound, but it may break down at some vital point in its practical application to a particular set of circumstances.

In India the theory about an agricultural bias in the primary schools breaks down at several points. It is commonly forgotten that in primary schools you must have teachers, and that to give a bias in any particular direction to the scholars the quality of the teaching must be such as to command respect. In the light of what

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

has been said elsewhere in these Memoirs on the subject of caste, it will occasion no surprise to learn, that, of the Indians entering the educational service, the percentage drawn from the 'writer' castes—*i.e.*, the Brahmins and Vaisyas (*vide* Appendix A)—is overwhelmingly large. Aspirations on the part of members of the lower, or manual labouring, castes to improve themselves by higher education are, moreover, discouraged by their betters. At Rajkot, when I advertised for candidates to fill a vacancy in the civil service of the province of Kathiawar, specifying that applicants must be graduates of a University, one of the candidates belonged to the Shimpi (tailor) caste. I proposed to the Brahmin head of the office that we should select him *pour encourager les autres*. He was horrified. "Why appoint a Shimpi," he protested; "let him go and stitch clothes—that is his appointed function."

It is the rarest possible occurrence for the son of an Indian ryot (farmer) to proceed to higher education at all; and if he does he is usually (and quite rightly) encouraged to work for an agricultural degree with a view to taking up service in the Agricultural Department. It thus happens that primary school teachers are overwhelmingly drawn from the 'writer'—especially the Brahmin—castes. Now the ryot's son, before he goes to school, already knows more about farming—at all events on the prac-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tical side—than does the Brahmin teacher, even if he has gone through his normal school training course. Moreover, he already has a bias for agriculture. On the other hand, no boy *not* belonging to an agricultural caste will gain anything from such a bias, since he will be expected to follow the trade of the caste of which he is a member. It is quite true that bright boys of all or any caste do pass on to secondary schools with or without scholarships from time to time, and that there they do, from time to time, display talents pointing to a career other than that to which they were born; and such boys deserve, and do in fact receive, encouragement to develop themselves and raise their status in life.

For what it is worth, therefore, my conviction, based upon fairly wide opportunities for observation, is that it is waste of time in India to try to give a bias of any kind to the teaching in the primary schools. The ryot's son already has his bias; others do not benefit by getting one; and 99 per cent of the teachers are, and will by predisposition remain, wholly incompetent to impart it.

Forests as well as agriculture were in my charge, and the periodic meetings of the two Boards—the former held at Dehra Dun, and the latter at Pusa—were among the many interesting features of my departmental work. The Agricultural Institute at Pusa (situated in the centre of the indigo-growing area of Bihar)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

owes its existence to the energy of Lord Curzon and the generosity of an American, Mr Phipps. The permanent scientific staff stationed there included, besides the Director-General of Agriculture, who administered the institution generally, an agricultural chemist, an agricultural bacteriologist, and an economic botanist, with their subordinate staffs, together with an officer, who farmed, for demonstration and experimental purposes, the Pusa estate, comprising some hundreds of acres.

Crop experiments of all kinds are conducted there, and much valuable work has been done towards separating and establishing new and improved strains of wheat, cotton, indigo, linseed, &c. At the meetings of the Board representatives of all the provincial Departments of Agriculture assembled for the exchange of information as to results of research and for the discussion of the many problems of policy, of administration, and of inter-provincial co-operation which were constantly cropping up. Whether it is the sources from which the *personnel* of the Agricultural and Forest services is recruited, or the open air life which the members lead, or other conditions of service, or all combined, I am unable to say; but I certainly felt that in those officers we had men of the very finest possible type. If Scotland contributes most of India's agricultural experts, England is responsible for most of the forest officers; so it is per-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

missible to believe that it is the nature of their work which brings out some of the delightful traits which characterise so many individuals of both services, and I have the most pleasant recollections of my association with them. India has no more devoted workers than they, and they, like the irrigation engineers, have the ineffable satisfaction, denied to the ordinary administrator, of seeing, within the period of their own service, the beneficent results of their labours. The Agricultural Department has the gratification of seeing a cent-per-cent improvement in out-turn as the result of the introduction of an improved staple cotton in the Central Provinces or of a newly separated variety of wheat in the Punjab; while, as the result of eight or ten years' work on the sugar-cane station at Coimbatore (in the south of India), it becomes possible to separate and standardise the over-hybridised varieties of cane, with, it is hoped, a prospect of a great improvement in productivity. The Forest Department on their side have not only succeeded in conserving India's wealth of timber, but have been, through their scientific investigations, the means of pointing the way to the commercial utilisation of many forest products.

These two splendid corps of workers for India have of necessity one defect (if it can be described as a defect) of their qualities. All good men, of whatever walk in life, come to take a personal pride in the achievements of the organisa-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

tion of which they form a unit, and the personal pride develops into a possessive and protective instinct. In India this *esprit de corps* permeates all branches of the public service to a greater or less degree, and to hostile critics it presents itself, quite unjustly, in the guise of vested interests. The manifestation of this pride of workmanship, which I have described as a defect, is the natural reluctance of these services to contemplate changes which in their view may imperil efficiency. The sentiment in itself is entirely laudable ; but it does imply an unwillingness, sometimes an inability, to appreciate considerations which may transcend efficiency. Let it be admitted that the policy of associating an increasing number of Indians in the higher grades of the services will tend to a slackening of efficiency and a retardation in progress. It is not necessarily a slur upon Hindus or Mahomedans to make the admission. They have still much to learn and much leeway to make up before the general standard of executive ability can attain to the high level of English effort—itself the product of centuries of self-government. But, with the admission made, there is still the dominating obligation to develop their fitness to take over these responsibilities. And while I have described as a defect the reluctance of the British element to contemplate measures which in their view may affect the work of their departments—work which they know to be of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

vital importance to the whole population of India,—I want at once to say that that reluctance was never in my experience translated into opposition. Most loyally, if sorrowfully, they bowed to the dictates of policy. They did more. Both at Dehra Dun and at Pusa I received the most loyal and expert assistance in working out schemes for the training for the two services of Indians from all parts of India. Partly owing to the money stringency occasioned by the war, those schemes were not so rapid in their development as one could have wished, but I understand they are now achieving the purpose of providing a much more extended and better special training for Indians in agriculture and forestry. The Indian universities are playing their part, too. A Faculty for Agriculture had already been set up in the older universities, and during my time one was added at the Lahore University for the Punjab.

From the remarks made on the subject of giving an agricultural bias in the primary schools of India, it might well be inferred that the best and most intelligent students would be unlikely to take the agricultural degree, and this was, in fact, the case. It occasionally happens that a hereditary farmer's son displays abilities which secure for him a scholarship, encouraging him to go forward and to qualify as a B.Ag. Several such men are already doing good work in various provincial departments of agriculture. But it

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

must be admitted that the bulk of the writer castes, who so preponderatingly fill the colleges, prefer the literary course, and only as a *pis aller* fall back upon such subjects as agriculture, for work at which they are, indeed, often indifferently fitted. This will, one may hope, right itself in time; and although the out-door, open air, often solitary, life of the forest officer and the agricultural specialist at present makes only a qualified appeal to the ablest Indians, I feel no real despondency as to the ultimate future in this matter.

To any one who, like myself, has been fortunate enough to have the duty of travelling the length and breadth of India and witnessing the work that has been done, as well as the work in progress and the plans for the future, there must come a feeling that the British in India have at least paved the way to better and more prosperous conditions. Every one has read of the thousands of square miles of Punjab desert now brought by irrigation under the plough, but it is not only of the seas of wheat in the northern province where yesterday was desert that stock should be taken. As a youngster in the Ahmednagar district of the Bombay Presidency I was familiar with the arid barren waste of the Godavery Valley, where land had a nominal grazing value only. In 1917 I saw the beginnings of the new era inaugurated by the great irrigation dam. The valley has been converted, for miles

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of its length, into one of the largest sugar-growing tracts in the country, and the land commands Rs. 400 an acre. Again, in the central provinces and Gujarat, where for the most part cotton of very short staple and inferior quality used to be cultivated, improved varieties are revolutionising the economic position of the farmer, and raising to a higher level the out-turn of the spinning and weaving industry. From Peshawar in the north, where the fruit-growing industry has developed largely owing to experiments at the Punjab Government's research station, to Coimbatore in the extreme south, where sugar-cane selection is proceeding to the benefit of all India, there are signs, clear to the most unobservant, and difficult of escape even by the most prejudiced, of growing prosperity and an increasing degree of self-dependence and self-respect on the part of the tillers of the soil.

And it is only right to record here that these symptoms of a revival are not due exclusively to official effort, though this has been the main stimulus. Many non-official agencies—chiefly missionary bodies, and of these largely the American—have done much to raise the standard of agriculture. Both in the west of India and near Allahabad in the north, the efforts of the American Missions have been concentrated on inculcating in their alumni the dignity of manual handicrafts and, more particularly at Allahabad, agriculture. Mr Sam Higginbotham's name will

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

always be honourably remembered for his zeal in this cause.

But, when all is said and done, one of the greatest opportunities for self-betterment among the farmers of India was the introduction there of the Co-operative movement. It is interesting to recall the fact that when Sir Denzil Ibbetson, in 1904, introduced the Co-operative Societies Bill in the Viceroy's Legislative Council of those days, the most strenuous opponent of the measure was a distinguished Hindu politician, who assured the Council that Hindus were devoid of the spirit of co-operation. The commentary on that opinion is contained in the latest report to which I have access, from which it appears that there are now throughout India 71,608 Co-operative Societies with a membership of 2,630,000, operating funds amounting to Rs. 48,19,00,000. Through the medium of these societies any ryot can now borrow capital for development at a reasonable interest instead of having to hypothecate everything to the village banya, whose ordinary rate of usury, when I first went to India, was between 3 and 5 per cent *per mensem*.

Civil horse-breeding was one of the interests of the Agricultural Department, and this, owing to the exigencies of the war, brought me into close contact with the Army Remount Department. In normal times the Army's requirements in horse-flesh were met in part by importations from Australia, and in part by country-bred

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

horses. Speaking generally, India is not well adapted to horse-breeding on a commercial scale. Owing to the seasonal character of the rainfall the extensive grazing areas become sandy deserts during the greater part of the year, and the grazing is not rich enough. The Remount Department has therefore established at selected centres in the Punjab and at Ahmednagar depots for the breeding and rearing of young stock. The indigenous country-bred horse being inadequate in size and weight to the needs of British cavalry and artillery, experiments of all kinds have been made during the past half century with a view to producing a type of horse suited to requirements. Crosses with English (thoroughbred or half-bred) stallions, with Australian sires, and with Arabs have been tried. The Arab cross has proved, in many ways, to be the most satisfactory from the standpoint of establishing a type from which continuous breeding could be expected without progressive deterioration. But the cross did not produce stock of the size required for artillery work. The latest experiments—and these give greater hope than any others hitherto tried—have been with selected sires of two indigenous Indian breeds, the Marwari from Rajputana and the Kathiawari from Kathiawar. These, with an Arab cross, are producing young stock which in 1916 appeared likely to establish an indigenous and typical breed. Good feeding during the first three years,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

together with extensive free runs, were resulting in three and four-year-old colts standing nearly sixteen hands, well ribbed up, and active. The Indian breeder has for centuries stalled his young stock, with head and heel ropes, and starved them. This, coupled with indiscriminate siring, had reduced the indigenous breeds to the verge of extinction.

With the outbreak of hostilities in August 1914 the overseas supply of horses was abruptly cut off, and we were thrown back upon the internal resources of the country for mounting our cavalry and gunners. The Army Remount Department's resources were inadequate to make up the deficiency, and the whole country had to be scoured for serviceable animals. In other words, the lamentable nature of a policy of dependence upon overseas supplies, for an item so essential to efficiency as the horse, was exposed. It was impossible to redress such a situation in a day—or even in four years; but clearly it was the duty of the civil administration to do something to encourage the breeding of horses, and so—if possible, economically—rescue the country from a position of helplessness and its mounted forces from an *impasse*.

I have, in the preceding chapter, given an account of the Bombay racing legislation, establishing the Totalisator on the racecourses administered under West of India Turf Club control; and it will be remembered, perhaps, that one

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

result of this measure was to multiply tenfold the income of the Club, which was thus enabled not only to effect radical and much-needed improvements and largely to increase prizes, but also to distribute considerable sums annually to deserving charities. Now, recalling the practice in France, upon whose model the Bombay law was based, it occurred to me that it would not only be legitimate but bare justice to negotiate with both the West of India and the Calcutta Turf Clubs for the surrender by them of an annual contribution to the Government for civil horse-breeding. The justification for horse-racing is that it does, in fact, encourage horse-breeding. In India, therefore, where racing is chiefly for throughbreds or Arabs, neither of which are normally bred in the country, and where, consequently, racing did not justify itself on that ground, it seemed to me peculiarly appropriate that the Turf Clubs, which were reaping considerable profits, should make a contribution to civil horse-breeding. It should be remembered that, owing to the exigencies of the war, the Finance Department of the Government of India could not possibly at that epoch sanction an increased grant for this purpose, which frankly was not a war measure but one which, in the course of years only, would prove of advantage to the realm and tend to render India independent of overseas supplies of one very indispensable article.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Accordingly I entered upon negotiations with the two Turf Clubs, and found both of them willing to make a voluntary contribution, provided that they on their side were given legal recognition. It was provisionally agreed that each of them should forthwith contribute five lakhs of rupees (£33,330) per annum, the amount to be increased rateably with the growth of their revenues. This proposition, to my great regret, was not found acceptable by my colleagues on the Council—on the financial side because it was contended that I had not made a sufficiently good bargain, and on the administrative side for reasons analogous to those which actuate a certain section of the English public in preferring to leave racing and betting untaxed rather than to have them regularised. On the moral side I am perhaps suspect; on the financial side I can only reply that Indian revenues available for horse-breeding would—taking no credit for the contingent increase arranged for — have amounted to-day to close on £700,000. When I reflect on the progress that could have been made by the judicious expenditure of this sum and the very real benefit to India that would have ensued—well, it is better not to give expression to one's feelings.

In the year 1917 there was widespread failure of the monsoon; and in August it became evident that special measures must be concerted for the pooling of foodstuffs within India if we

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were to maintain the exportation of much-needed wheat and rice to the Allies. Already we had set up an Advisory Committee to deal with this vitally important matter, but the agricultural crisis in 1917 compelled more drastic measures. Provincial governments, having in mind, of course, primarily the well-being of their own population, were actually in one or two instances taking steps to check exports to neighbouring provinces, and railway transport was being disorganised. It should be explained that export of Indian coal had become a very important factor in the war game, and most of that coal had to cross India by rail from east to west. It was necessary, therefore, in the interests of India as a whole, and of the cause of the Allies, to regulate the internal distribution of available foodstuffs, to see that that distribution was effected with the least possible disturbance to other essential rail-borne traffic, and to arrange that overseas exports, especially of wheat, were maintained at the highest practicable point compatible with the maintenance of an adequate supply for home consumption.

In process of time these measures had to be amplified by the appointment of a Food Controller, a post most efficiently filled by Mr Gubbay. While India had a serious shortage in the harvest of 1917, Burma had had a bumper crop of rice; and the problem that presented itself was the very difficult one of deciding on

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the proper distribution of Burma's rice at a price which, while giving a fair return to the grower and miller, should prevent profiteering. The problem was aggravated by the claims of several countries, not forming part of the Indian Empire, who depended upon their annual supplies of rice from Burma. Mr Gubbay had to spend a great deal of time in Rangoon and in travelling; and it was his task to fix allotments of food and prices and to negotiate for the arrangements for shipping, and then to submit his proposals for our sanction. He performed his task admirably; and I believe he would also wish me to add that, while his difficulties with the rice millers and others in Rangoon were often great, he also met with a public-spirited appreciation of the immense issues at stake, and, not infrequently, very valuable co-operation from the mercantile community.

Every cloud has its silver lining, and my wife and I owe to my breaking down in September 1917 the opportunity that we should never otherwise have had of visiting Kashmir. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Chelmsford for his goodness in undertaking for four long weeks the work of my departments in addition to his own. Beyond saying that Kashmir is one of the most lovely spots on earth, I do not propose to dwell on those weeks. Most of the time, thanks to the hospitality of His Highness Sir Partap Singh, the late Maharaja, we spent

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

on a house-boat on the Dal Lake, but for the concluding few days the present Maharaja, Sir Hari Singh, placed a small bungalow at our disposal. Sir Hari Singh also gave me two delightful days' shooting, the recollection of which will always be grateful. During one beat for *bara-singh* [1] I sat in a tree on the crest of one of the lower slopes towards the Jhelum Valley. Behind me gleamed the long line of snow mountains; all around and below me was every shade of autumn tint; beyond, and stretching away for a hundred miles, was the opalescent blue of the Vale of Kashmir, basking in a transparent haze of wintry sunshine; while hanging above the far horizon glimmered the snowy heights of the opposite frontier of this Garden of Eden. It really did not matter whether the stag was in the beat or no. Indeed, I think that hour interpreted and explained in some sort the essential spirit of that lotos-eating land. Things do not matter there as they do elsewhere, either to the Kashmiri or to the European making his sojourn there.

I had good reason to bless those four weeks' idleness. Not only did the advent of the Montagu mission loom in the immediate future, but there was to be during 1918 a very strenuous period for every one. In the preceding chapter I have given some account of the inception of the inquiry which led to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms

[1] A relative of the red deer.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and the Government of India Act of 1919. After prolonged discussions, and much correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State during 1916 and 1917, a general understanding had been arrived at that any further delegation of power, on a democratic basis, to the elected legislatures must be accompanied by a delegation of responsibility; and the problem which Lord Chelmsford's government, with the aid of the Secretary of State, visiting India for this express purpose, was called upon to solve was the reconciliation of that understanding with the necessary security for peace and good government. In the light of the present-day agitation for the grant of complete Dominion status, coupled with unfettered administration of all departments by Indians, it is curious to recall that, when the earlier discussions had taken place, such Indians as were consulted did not desire responsibility, which they were rather afraid of. They showed a quite definite preference for maintaining the executive constituted much as it stood under the Morley-Minto scheme. Their chief aim was to secure a great enlargement of the elected Indian element in the legislative assemblies, in order that the decisions of those assemblies should really express Indian opinion. Recognising that such a measure, if entirely uncontrolled, might bring the government of the country to a standstill, they were prepared to acquiesce in

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the grant to the executive of a power of veto. With the principle once accepted that power must be accompanied by responsibility, it became necessary to build up a system under which, while securing general stability for essential services and reserving control of such matters as defence and external affairs, the largest possible measure of delegation should be effected to the provincial assemblies in the provincial administration and to the Government of India legislature for all-India interests. In the case of the provinces, it was soon recognised that the only means by which the principle of responsibility could be realised was by constituting Ministers, responsible to the elected chambers, for the administration of the departments whose control should be surrendered to the elected representatives of the people. On the other hand, it was necessary to provide for the administration by the executive, as heretofore, of those departments, if any, which it might be found as yet impossible in the actual circumstances to surrender to the control of the representative assemblies.

It was in such circumstances that the winter of 1917-18 saw the Secretary of State for India sitting, day in and day out, by the side of the Viceroy and his Executive Council. For about three months at Delhi, and during nearly two months on tour in the provinces, the consultations between Lord Chelmsford and Mr Montagu

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

were continuous, not only every day but all day; and meanwhile the ordinary administration of the country was carried on somehow. While it was a most exhausting time, it also had its compensations. There were not lacking pleasurable incidents—as, for example, when a very distinguished member of Mr Montagu's party had his tent burned down, and suffered the loss of no fewer than sixteen pairs of trousers. Envy, occasioned by the thought that any one person could travel to the East with sixteen pairs of trousers, was transformed into amazement when it became clear that their loss was to make no perceptible difference in the outward appearance of the sufferer.

Whatever differences of opinion arose during the interminable discussions of the almost insoluble problem before us—and naturally there were very wide differences on many points—it is at least pleasant and satisfactory to recall that the best possible feeling prevailed; and it was no mere formal politeness which prompted the organisation by us, the members of Lord Chelmsford's Council, of a farewell banquet to Mr Montagu and his colleagues at the end of March 1918: it was rather a tribute of regard and friendly feeling generated by the invariable courtesy, consideration, and helpfulness displayed by them. Much as their presence had added to our labours, and almost insuperable as were the difficulties of the task upon which we had

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

been collaborating, I think the majority of us felt that by no other means would it have been possible to thresh out the issues and to bring the many and various proposals for reform into harmony with the principles laid down.

I am attempting in Part III. of the succeeding chapter to show why it was the view of those responsible for the government of India that any advance in liberalising and Indianising the administration must take the form of Parliamentary control. There was no alternative. But as I write here, almost exactly ten years after the farewell dinner to Mr Montagu and his party, I am wondering whether, after all, we proceeded upon the best possible lines in devising the machinery to give effect to the purposes in view. The experience of nine years has, indeed, shown that while, in some provinces, the parliamentary system has worked fairly well —perhaps even remarkably well, in all the circumstances—in others the administration may be said, with fairness, only to have been carried on in spite of the reforms. Again, the Legislative Assembly of all-India has displayed on several occasions the lack of a sense of responsibility which is disheartening in the extreme to many Indians as well as to British well-wishers. While in Madras, for example, the changes inaugurated by the Government of India Act, 1919, had the effect of quickening the political sense of the people in a very marked degree, and aroused,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

almost immediately, a real political and provincial consciousness, Bengal, thanks to the highly developed method of agitation so familiar in that province, has shown itself incapable of appreciating the opportunities for provincial development. In the Indian Assembly, in so far as it is possible at a distance to gauge the situation, it would appear as though the representatives elected from the different provinces, differing so widely as they do in race, language, religion, and social outlook, were incapable of constructive combination: in Sir Frederick Whyte's words, "Conceiving of politics solely as a game in which they are the bullet and the Government the target, they have never devised or proposed, they have remained content with criticism."

Did we, in those prolonged chamber discussions at Delhi, lose our way? Were we drawn into the dangerous task of weaving a theoretic fabric of government of uniform pattern, divorced from the stubborn realities of the patchwork which is the sub-continent of India? The basis of our problem was a scheme of advance for one province, of which scheme, as I have suggested on page 202, the "true criticism is that it may not have been entirely suitable for every part of that province." Did we lose ourselves in the maze of complications incidental to its adaptation to all provinces? I hope and believe not; but the story of the evolution of the reforms into their final shape in the Act

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of 1919 will doubtless be very carefully borne in mind by the Statutory Commission appointed under that Act. The constitution given by Parliament to India and to the provinces of India is so drawn that differentiation is possible in the delegation of power to the various provinces, and thereby is safeguarded a principle which ought to be maintained for many years to come. It is the principle on which Lord Willingdon made the first move towards extending the representative system and the Indianisation of the administration of the Bombay Presidency, and the framers of the scheme of the Act of 1919 have been careful to preserve it.

And what has happened in the provinces and in the Indian Legislative Assembly bears out, I think, the soundness of the plan. Whereas in the provinces, heterogeneous as is the population of some of them, much useful experience has been gained by the inauguration of representative institutions and the application of the principle of ministerial responsibility; in the Indian Assembly, on the other hand, composed of members with often hardly a single practical interest in common, there has been much less evidence of progress in constructive statesmanship, and the majority of the representatives have, in Sir Frederick Whyte's phrase, "remained content with criticism." The inference may fairly be drawn that advance is to be sought in larger provincial delegation to those provinces

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which have displayed aptitude for constructive and progressive work, while the others qualify by further probation. If this view is endorsed by the results of the Statutory Commission's inquiry, it would be well, for ordered progress, that a way should be found, less cumbrous and provocative than periodic overhaul by Parliament, by which power could be given to the Government of India to advance the degree of provincial autonomy for each province as circumstances seemed to justify the step.

Subject to the general powers of control still reserved to the Government of India, and provided those powers are maintained, it seems not impossible to anticipate for some provinces complete Swaraj for provincial affairs within a reasonable distance of time. As regards the Central Government and the demand of the Congress party for complete Dominion status, while one may sympathise with the aspiration, it is impossible to close one's eyes to facts. The complete Dominion status implied in their demand carries with it as a preliminary completely independent autonomy, and, on the analogy of the Dominions themselves, a completely democratised and responsible administration. But the underlying conditions are so widely different that the analogy cannot hold. India's peoples are more widely distinct, ethnologically and linguistically —to say nothing of the differences of religion and the complexities of caste,—than are the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

populations of the nations of Europe. A day may come when there will arise Napoleon's ideal of a United States of Europe; but even that day is far off—how much farther off is the emergence of a united homogeneous nation of India? And there is the further factor of our allies, the independent protected Princes of India, representing, with all their wide variations in race, creed, and administrative methods, one-fifth of the Indian sub-continent. What position are they to occupy within the autonomous Dominion?

I believe that all of us who toiled in those months of 1917-18 to evolve a workable parliamentary system suited to India's needs were honestly and sincerely desirous of going to the extreme length of what was possible towards the goal indicated in the Proclamation of 1858, and to provide automatically for a further advance, especially in the direction of provincial autonomy, as experience might justify it. Nor, I venture to think, need we regret the great step that was then taken. Despite disappointment in some provinces, there are indications that in others the reforms have effected a real quickening of interest and stimulated that sense of responsibility which was among the most important of the purposes aimed at. Even in the Bombay Presidency (to take the most advanced) there is the grave handicap of ethnological and linguistic differences to contend with.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Excluding Urdu, four languages are spoken by the twenty odd million inhabitants; and the differences between the Baluchi in Sindh and the Kanarese-speaking Hindu in the south are wider than those between a Czech and a Spaniard. Provincial autonomy as a working success must inevitably precede Indian autonomy as a world unit.

In the midst of the absorbing preoccupations connected with constitutional architecture burst the news of the great German offensive of March 1918, accompanied by an urgent request from the British Government to India to speed up in every way possible the services working in aid of the Allies in Europe. These included not only the enrolment of additional recruits but also supplies and munitions of all kinds. Mr Montagu was able to approve, just before leaving for home, the proposal to summon in Conference to Delhi representatives of all shades of political opinion from all the provinces, including leading Indian Princes, to discuss the situation and to agree to unite everywhere in a special concentrated effort in aid of those fighting in France. It fell to me, at Lord Chelmsford's request, and because I had initiated the proposal, to go down from Simla to organise the Conference and to pave the way for a united front.

I was commissioned to meet the delegates two days before the actual Conference, and Lord Chelmsford (who was to preside) and the re-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

maining members of his Government, including the Commander-in-Chief (Sir Charles Monro), were to follow. The gathering included the leaders of all the political parties from every province, among them Mahatma Gandhi; and my mission was to organise the procedure of the Conference, and if possible to pave the way for a unanimous determination to bend all the resources of the country to the aid of the Allies' cause. Before leaving Simla it was decided that the Conference should, in the first instance, resolve into two Sub-Committees, the one (to be presided over by the Commander-in-Chief) to deal with the military aspect of the question (recruitment and munitions), the other (for which I was to be responsible) to determine the action to be taken in reference to foodstuffs, transport, and all other supplies asked for from India. Sir George Barnes and Sir Thomas Holland were to help me, while the remainder of the Council were to aid Sir Charles Monro.

On arrival at Delhi I found a very difficult situation. While the large majority of the delegates were willing and anxious to sink all political differences and present a united front to the world, there was a small minority of malcontent extremists who were disposed to make political capital out of the Empire's necessities, and to qualify their acquiescence by conditions. The two days and two nights at my disposal for the purpose of extracting order and agree-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment out of the warring elements were none too long. Even with the invaluable help of Sir Malcolm Hailey (then Chief Commissioner of Delhi, now Governor of the United Provinces) it was an exhausting business, and it was only a few hours before the Viceroy's arrival that I had succeeded in securing adhesion, without qualification, to the general proposition that India must, for her own credit, stand solidly by the Empire and Allies and contribute within the fullest measure of her power to the cause. I had also distributed the delegates as fairly as possible between the two Sub-Committees. There was only one dissident—Gandhi. His attitude was that all war and fighting was wrong, and that he would be no party to any measure designed to further armed conflict. From this position I failed to dislodge him further than to secure his promise that he would not actively oppose the resolutions which should find favour with the Conference.

I had to report my failure with Gandhi to Lord Chelmsford. The latter arrived at 8 o'clock on the morning fixed for the first full session, and was good enough to consent to see Gandhi at 10. Having tried every possible argument with that charming, gentle, and unpractical visionary, I had not much hope of any change; but Lord Chelmsford, as a last resort, had the inspiration to say, " Then, Mr Gandhi, you prefer to acquiesce in the principle of Might, through Militarism,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

which the Allies are at present combating?" That argument—so elementary that one had neglected it—clinched Gandhi's decision to take no step in opposition to the proposals.

The assembly duly met, resolved into the two projected Sub-Committees, and reassembled the following day to pass the resolutions there drafted. There were incidents and difficulties; but in the main it may fairly be said that this gathering, which designedly included the extremest opponents of our administration, did assent with moderate grace to the prosecution, by all available means, of the war and the provision by India of all the aid in men, money, munitions, and supplies which she could furnish. As a political manifesto it was effective, and as a stimulus to all provinces to make yet greater efforts and sacrifices it achieved its purpose. We all left Delhi at night, reaching Simla at noon the following day, and I slept from 2 P.M. until 9 o'clock the next morning. Delhi in April is very hot, and four days' continuous negotiations, first with groups then with individuals, commencing in chaos and only achieving order at the eleventh hour, leaving neither time nor opportunity for sleep during the intervening nights, had brought me to a complete state of exhaustion.

One final responsibility which fell to me just before leaving India in April 1920 was the creation, by Statute, of an Indian Red Cross Society. Sir Pardey Lukis, on the outbreak of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

war, had launched an appeal for funds, and organised a Red Cross movement which received characteristically generous support throughout the land. Based on the provinces, but directed generally by a central Committee, the institution met with widespread support from all sections of the community, and was the means of affording relief to the wounded and sick not only in Mesopotamia, East Africa, and throughout the military hospitals in India, but also to the troops from India operating in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine. After Sir Pardey's death—and his death was as truly due to the war and the mass of work entailed upon him by it as though he had died in the trenches—I had assumed the Chairmanship of the Red Cross, and at the close of the war found that we were faced by a serious problem. The Indian Red Cross had no statutory existence. The funds at its disposal at the conclusion of hostilities were considerable. They had been subscribed for the purpose of affording relief to the sick and wounded in the war. There were two alternatives: either to dissolve the Society and return the balance to the subscribers, or to take power, by an Act of the Indian Legislature, to utilise the funds for other needs. At that juncture (March 1919) I received a cable from Sir Arthur Stanley, Chairman of the British Red Cross Society, inviting the Indian Red Cross Society to join the federation of Red Cross Societies, to be

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

known as the League, the formation of which had been determined upon, on the initiative of the American Chairman, by the five great Allied Red Cross Societies of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The purposes for which the federation had been formed were no longer confined to the relief of suffering in war-time, but were specifically for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world, in peace as well as in war.

This invitation, which the Indian Red Cross Committee gladly accepted, was most opportune, and when at home on six months' leave in 1919, I was enabled to study the proposed plans of the League, and to draft, on return to India, with Sir George Lowndes' help, the clauses of a Bill to establish a Society in India with power to utilise the funds at its disposal, not only for war purposes but also for the ends aimed at in the League's scheme. I was warned that there would be difficulty in securing adhesion to the creation of any Society entitled "Red Cross." The view arose, of course, from the widely held misapprehension that the insignia of the Society had a religious signification, whereas they are simply the reverse of the Swiss Confederation Ensign, and were adopted in 1863 out of compliment to the Genevese citizens, on whose initiative the Red Cross movement was started for the relief of suffering on the field of battle.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

However, following the practice of leaving the issue to the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council, I referred the Bill to a Select Committee exclusively composed of them; and not only did they agree to the legislation, and to the title of the Society, but they—and later the full Council—passed the measure unanimously, and were deeply appreciative of the purposes of the Act.

It is one penalty of being an official that he is compelled to pass over in silence many of the more interesting events that have come within his experience. It is the items that have aroused public controversy upon which he could be most informing, but it is precisely there that he is estopped from publicity. This is perhaps, in one sense, fortunate. Time must elapse before prejudice dies down, and the publication of personal views on matters in which acute differences of opinion have arisen would serve no useful purpose. For this among other reasons I have tried to be as impersonal as possible, and to avoid stirring the embers of fruitless and sometimes embittered discussion.

In the ensuing chapter an attempt is made to assess some of the psychological factors which contribute to the maze of difficulties which confronts our administration in India, in the hope that, however inadequate such a study may be, it may contribute something to a solution of the problem.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER X.

INDIA OLD AND NEW.

"How easily these old worships of Moses, of Zoroaster, of Menu, of Socrates, domesticate themselves in the mind. I cannot find any antiquity in them. They are mine as much as theirs."—EMERSON.

I.

IT has been said that Hinduism is not a religion but a social system. There is an element of truth in this when the subject is under examination from the philosophic standpoint. On the other hand, to the toiling ryots in their millions it is as essentially a religion as is Shintoism or Christianity. For them it has, it is true, a fatalistic character, and is far less a human reality, but it nevertheless has a familiar and very attractive side. Of the voiceless millions Kipling's picture is the true one:—

"Mogul, Mahratta, and Mlech from the North,
And the White Queen over the Seas—
God raiseth them up and driveth them forth
As the dust of the ploughshare flies in the breeze,
But the wheat and the Cattle are all my care,
And the rest is the will of God."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

But the voiceless millions are for us the easier problem; the secret which baffles us is the fermentation taking place among those educated in accordance with western ideas. What is the tendency of thought among them? How is the strong wine of modern science affecting the deep long-stagnant residue of inherited tradition? It may be doubted whether, as yet, there is sufficient material of which to make a study of the subject, while it is quite certain that the material is exceedingly varied. The effect of a western education upon a high-caste Brahmin is widely different from what happens to a Maratha or Sikh. Totally dissimilar again is the product with a member of any of the Mahomedan sects.

We are accustomed to think generally that the influence of our education is in the direction of undermining all the good inherent in the old system, and that it fails to put anything in its place. We are all agreed that the youth of India, when subjected to a University education, becomes discontented and undisciplined; but one is apt to forget that, to a lesser degree, the result here in England is similar.

Dissent, radicalism, discontent, anarchism are all symptoms, familiar enough, of the human mind beginning to think for itself and to question the thoughts and axioms upon which it has been brought up. Moreover, we do not sufficiently recognise the fact—for it is a fact—that the majority of these young revolutionaries grow

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

out of their mental measles and become, in time, good enough citizens. Where we are unreasonable is if we expect, or suppose, that they will grow into precisely the same groove of thought, poise, and outlook that we arrive at ourselves.

Now, there are startling variations in the results to different individual Indians from an alien education and association with Europeans. In the majority of instances the influence seemingly disappears, and the individual, as it were, shakes off the cloak of western culture to resume his inherited beliefs and the outlooks of his forefathers. These are perhaps the happiest. I have known a Rajput, who had spent his youth partly as a soldier in close association with us, who had travelled widely to other parts of the Empire, and who, on settling down in his maturity, resumed unbroken all the manners, customs, and beliefs of his forbears. He had, however, been mellowed by his experiences, and retains to this day a broad-minded toleration and understanding of the points of view of others. Yet his acceptance of the Hindu view, as he understands it, of metempsychosis is absolute and perfectly simple in its bearing upon caste. We were discussing on one occasion some of the curious implications of the theory.

Under the Brahminical teaching a woman is not a separate entity, but fulfils her existence only when married to, and thereby made the complement of, a man. I wanted to see whither

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the principle led in his mind in conjunction with the rigours of the caste system. My Rajput friend recognised the possibility of a low-caste woman, who acquired merit during her life, rising to a higher caste in her next incarnation, and of her becoming ultimately, after a succession of rebirths, even a Rajputni or a Brahmin. But he quite logically maintained (and believed) that a Brahmin woman, however virtuous, could never be reborn a man—even of a lower caste. In other words, a woman has no individual spiritual existence.

Another acquaintance of mine, a Chitpáwan Brahmin, after thirty years in the British service, retired to become a priest in a temple near Poona. He was always pleased to see and talk to Englishmen, especially those whom he had known in the course of his service ; but he was perfectly content to leave behind him all trace of his laity and lay experiences.

Again, another Brahmin, an old and very faithful Government servant for over forty years, is now living in retirement the life of contemplation laid down in the Shástras, but retains undimmed his vivid and very intelligent interest in all that goes on, and passes on his views to me to this day with unfailing regularity.

Of the younger generation I have had fewer opportunities of observation ; but having discussed many of the problems of life and religion with many Indian friends with, so far as one is

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

able to judge, complete frankness on both sides, I have derived certain impressions as to the average Hindu's view of the spiritual[1] side of life which it may be worth while to write down. I do not suppose that it completely or accurately represents the thoughts of any single individual. It is recorded simply as being perhaps a fair description of the views of an average Indian who has seen something of the world after what in India is called an 'English' (*i.e.*, University) education, and after years of association with us.

Not only as a result of tradition, but even as a consequence (or in despite) of his education, the Hindu is always a spiritualist, in the sense converse to what we mean by materialist. His own entity has never the immanent importance to himself that our Ego has to us. This one would naturally deduce from the whole trend of the Vedanta philosophy, and it is certainly true. I was amused by an illustration of the fact in rather curious circumstances. A Shenvi Brahmin friend of mine was dining alone with me, and in the course of a discussion of all things in heaven and earth "about which we were not quite certain," as Mark Twain somewhere puts it, we stumbled upon this question of the difference of outlook of the Indian and European. My friend claimed a higher degree of spirituality and a less materialistic outlook for the Hindu, a claim which I was disposed to concede. He

[1] See note at end of this chapter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

proceeded to illustrate the justice of his contention by a reference to our carnivorous and their vegetarian habits. At that moment he was eating a second mutton chop! I suggested that emancipation from the vegetarian habit was growing; but he discounted the suggestion, holding that the backsliding of himself and many others of his race was not so much a sign of growing materialism on their part as an acceptance of the line of least resistance with a view to a better understanding. In fact his claim—quite an arguable one—was that contact with the west would in the end have the result of modifying the western outlook, habit of life, and thought rather than the Oriental.

A Hindu's conception of the universe is, then, a spiritual one. The spirit pervades all that we call matter, which, in the Hindu view, is only the phenomenal manifestation of the spirit. He would hold that western science, in so far as it proves anything, supports this. The material universe, like ourselves, is composed ultimately of impalpable but imperishable particles, in varying chemical combinations, but is only real to us because we are in the same dimensional plane. The particles are ever changing in their combination, thus confirming the Buddhist and Brahminical view that what we call the created universe is one great 'Becoming,' not a 'Being.'

Moreover, since the spirit or divinity or vital

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

essence pervades all, and since, according to western science, all is ordered and regulated, a Brahmin would hold, as a logical consequence, that it is that spirit that is the sole power and the only reality. Metempsychosis is the rebirth through fresh combinations of the eternal particles.

Objectively, too, the Brahmin would see no radical incompatibility between the philosophy of Hinduism and the teachings of modern science. He would say that Man, so far as is known, is the only combination of the eternal particles who, through ratiocination, is capable of understanding the general laws of the universe—that is to say, of the visible (what we call physical) universe. But Man can only apprehend that there is a rule and purpose in it, and cannot comprehend what the purpose may be. His limitation is, in fact, the limitation of the particular combination of the impalpable which is common to him and to the rest of the phenomena in the same plane.

His apprehension makes him a responsible person, and brings him, *pro tanto*, into relation with the spirit.

Nothing in all this militates against, indeed it rather supports, in Hindu eyes, the doctrine of the classic Brahminical teachers. It may explain, however, the relatively small importance which attaches, in his conception, to the individual Ego. Indeed to him it does not exist as a separate

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

individuality, but is at all times only part of the universal being or spirit.

If the Indian has also studied Christianity from the philosophic standpoint, the result is interesting. What puzzles him is that phase of the Christian beliefs which are anthropomorphic and individualistic. The spiritual side seems to him to fall into line very closely with the Vedanta philosophy. He does not understand the individualistic personal interpretation given to Christ's teaching, but finds it easy to accept nearly the whole of it as a spiritual doctrine veiled in human guise so as to reach the understanding of the people to whom it was first addressed. My putative Brahmin would say, and indeed has said to me, that the same process has taken place in Hinduism. Just as Christ was a great emanation of the Spirit, born out of time, so were some of the Hindu deities, Gautama, and some of the earliest Brahmin law-givers. The teachings of the earliest Hindu law-givers, like those of the Buddha, were above the heads of the mass of the people, and had to be brought within the scope of their powers of apprehension by a series of interpretations by lesser men. Thus, he would explain, it comes about that the great Buddhistic and Vedanta philosophies have been reduced, to all appearance, to a materialistic polytheism.

It would further be claimed, and quite consistently with Hindu beliefs, that the greater

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

portion of Christ's teachings, when read and studied from the right angle, will fall into line not only with the Vedanta philosophy but also with the results of modern scientific research.

The fundamental difference, from a practical point of view, between the Hindu and the occidental conception of things, is that interpretation of our scriptures which insists on a separate individual entity. The Buddhist and Hindu alike are content to rest in the belief in their identity with the Universal Spirit, whereas the Christian faith, as generally interpreted, appears to the Hindu to postulate the separate and eternal identity of each individual.

Now it will be inferred from the above that, so far as religious beliefs are concerned, there is no radical cause for serious differences of outlook on life between the Hindu and the Christian. This, in fact, is the case, and it constitutes the great and enduring strength of Hinduism. The fact that the Hindu philosophy is of such a catholic, tolerant, character explains why it has assimilated in the long-run so many competing creeds. It was not only able to supersede the animistic superstitions of the earlier Dravidian peoples, but absorbed and smothered the socially reforming Buddhistic propaganda. Later on again it withstood the shock of Islam, and is to-day, as a social system or religion, as persistent as it ever was.

If I have been able to form a correct estimate of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the effect generally of the impact of Christianity, modern methods of education, and western civilisation on the average, well-informed, thinking Indian of the higher castes, then I think it is safe to conclude that such impact need not, probably will not, contribute to a fundamental clash between European and Hindu. In other words, to answer the question I posed at the beginning of this chapter, the admixture of modern science and the philosophy of the west is having singularly little effect upon educated India. It is hardly influencing tradition at all; and in so far as habits and customs are being modified, such modification is the result of a habit of acquiescence and toleration, and means but little, if any, essential change of outlook and thought.

In one respect contact with us is having an effect which, in the long-run, may be expected to lower the barriers which impede close relations between East and West. The segregation of women was imported by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, and was adopted by the higher-caste Hindus as a matter of fashion. An unveiled Mahomedan woman being a scandal in Mussulman eyes, it is easy to see why the Hindus, to avoid being looked down upon, copied the customs of their conquerors. To-day, and at a rapidly increasing pace, the practice is becoming unfashionable among Mahomedans, and the abandonment by the Hindus of the purdah system, which has no religious or doctrinal

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

sanction, is only a question of time. Except in very conservative Rajput circles it is already breaking down.

It is quite impossible to exaggerate the importance of the bearing of this tendency upon the social relationship between Indians and British. Indirectly, and owing to their aloofness from the world of action, the effect of the seclusion of women has been a great additional stumbling-block in the way of closer understanding. Zenana women have always been the greatest opponents of change, and I know that women's influence on both sides has been anything but favourable to good relations. Misunderstanding being at the root of most of our difficulties on the social plane, it is legitimate to look forward hopefully to a better state of affairs as the result of the emergence of Hindu women from their five centuries of seclusion.

It is, however, quite a mistake to suppose that purdah has deprived women in India of their influence. Woman in a Rajput household has as a rule the final say, not only in domestic matters, but in all the plans and enterprises of the man. It is probable that her power is greater as a result of the restriction on her movements. And the majority of the elder women who have lived their lives in the constricted quarters of the *zenana* are bitterly opposed to any change, because, among other less material reasons, their advice will lose its weight.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is, indeed, these conservative old aristocrats who are everywhere doing their utmost to delay the change they see coming, and who are the main cause of the slowness of the spread of female education.

On reading these last paragraphs, a friend, for whose criticisms I have the greatest respect, asked me whether I was not really begging the question. "Is not the real criterion," she said, "whether you would acquiesce in your daughter marrying an Indian?" I am most anxious not to beg a question which is emphatically one to be faced; and I recognise that the implication of her comment is that, if improved and more intimate intercourse be established between the races, there is a risk that mixed marriages may become more frequent. Personally I do not share this expectation.

In the first place, it must be remembered that, on general grounds, Indians deprecate such alliances as strongly as we do. In the second place, while closer association will breed more opportunities, it is part of my belief that it will, *pari passu*, cause the disappearance of the glamour, largely born of ignorance, which has in the past led to hasty and unhappy marriages. Headstrong passion cannot in any case be eliminated so long as human nature remains what it is; but it can reasonably be argued that it is mainly ignorance that has been responsible in the past for the *mésalliances* which have been most conspicuous.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

With the emancipation of Indian women and their participation, in growing measure, in the ordinary life of the community, the British in India will necessarily acquire a better-informed acquaintance with Indian life and its conditions; and then the spirit of adventure, the plunge into the unknown, which is with us Anglo-Saxons a factor often contributing to hasty action, may be expected to lose its force. Where there is no mystery, no glamour of the unknown, there is also less stimulus to reckless unions.

In other words, on this question as on others, better knowledge is the solvent; and a closer association and better social relations will bring about a diminution rather than an aggravation of the risk of unhappy mixed marriages.

I am conscious that I have dealt with the whole of this subject most superficially. It is obvious, for instance, that intermarriages (or, indeed, ordinary social relationships) between Indians and ourselves do not all stand on the same footing. It has to be borne in mind that nearly every branch of the human race, other than the purely negroid, is found in India, and that there is a fundamental difference between intermarriage, for example, between two branches of the Aryan family and between an Aryan and a Semite, Mongol, or Dravidian. Even were I competent to examine the matter from an anthropological standpoint(which I am not), this would not be the place in which to embark upon such

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

an undertaking. My chief concern in these pages has been to suggest that, with greater freedom of intercourse, resulting from wider emancipation from past prejudices and restrictions, and from a spread of knowledge and understanding, there will grow up better feeling and greater capacity on both sides for mutual help and collaboration. It may be admitted that such improved relations involve closer and more continuous intercourse, and that this might entail greater risk of occasional disaster, unless, as I venture to believe, a closer acquaintance would discount the attraction of the mysterious unknown.

II.

INDIA'S BASIC HANDICAP.

India is part of the changeless east, and, perhaps with China, shares the longest period of stabilisation. Hindus have been content, for fifty centuries, to rest on their early, and in some respects sublime, philosophy. And that philosophy, postulating, as it does, nothingness and illusion, is probably more difficult to bring back into the sphere of fresh inquiry and revision than any other scheme of thought evolved by man. The west, in its contact with India, has been immediately conscious of a *vis inertiæ* which is wholly impervious to outside pressure since it

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is wholly indifferent to outside influences. Consciously or unconsciously, the British in India have tacitly acquiesced in the policy of leaving intact the social customs of the country and of trusting to time, education, and contact with western development to generate a stirring of the soul-consciousness of the people themselves. It is perhaps a reproach to us that in our administrative dealing with Hindus we have been too cautious, too regardful and tender of ingrained habits and modes of life. We have gone on quietly, remedying, or seeking to remedy, the most glaring and barbarous of the practices which we found grafted on to the principles of Hinduism; but we have sedulously avoided trenching on the general customs of the country. Katherine Mayo has, in 'Mother India,'[1] torn aside the veil behind which we have all, perhaps too silently, been carrying on our day-to-day work; and I believe that the moment she has chosen for her revelations is a most happy one.

For those who have not read the work it may be explained, in one sentence, that her thesis is that, as a result of the child marriages, of the situation in which women are held, and of the barbarous methods adopted in the matter of child-birth, the physique of Hindus is undergoing a steady but sure deterioration. And she is able to cite Mahatma Gandhi himself in support of her contention. There is no doubt whatever of

[1] Jonathan Capes.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

its truth. Hospital and medical reports and vital statistics published annually have demonstrated the fact for years past, only people do not read official publications. The publicity given to the facts in Miss Mayo's book, therefore, has come as a shock to the general public, and as a ruthless bombshell to orthodox Hinduism.

Her book, though written not only with the friendliest and most humane purpose, but after prolonged and careful study, as impartial as circumstances would permit, has been received with a degree of execration which could only have been more bitter, more irresponsible, and more wide of the mark had she been British instead of American. That is inevitable. It is even inevitable, perhaps, that it should be solemnly and publicly repudiated by politically noteworthy Indians who admit that they have not read it. Since she has, in the short period of her sojourn in the land, evidently gained an insight into Hindu mentality, she will understand this and will not be discouraged. (Indeed, there is nothing specially Indian in the attitude taken up by her critics.) She has courageously exposed some of the fatal consequences following from customs almost universally embraced by orthodox Hinduism, and she would be the last person to be surprised at the violence of the storm which she has aroused. For the degree of that violence is precisely the measure of the ills which she has placed in the limelight, and of the weight of dead

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

matter which has to be cut away if the body politic in India is to revive and become again a healthy and vigorous plant.

I wonder, however, whether the authoress has gauged the portentous magnitude of the task of reform. It is true that she has diagnosed the complaint correctly, and that she has traced it to its source. Has even she been able to estimate the colossal character of the process through which alone regeneration can commence?

We have no accurate historical data upon which we could reconstruct the conditions in which the Aryan-speaking conquerors of Dravidian India evolved their philosophy of life. Where, when, and in what circumstances the earliest of the Aryan principles of conduct were invented and how introduced we can only dimly guess; but it must be admitted that, from many points of view, the Vedanta philosophy as evolved must have been in the very van of human thought at that period. Some, at all events, of the laws relating to social intercourse may reasonably be attributed to a quite laudable desire to preserve purity of the race when in contact with the conquered barbarians. Others, and in particular those which throughout the ages to the present day have obtained in regulation of marriage with such disastrous consequences to the race, seem to be the logical outcome of the conception of life as illusion.

The earliest Hindu thinkers, probably long

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

before their arrival in Northern India, had secured acceptance of their teaching that our material world, together with all that is to us tangible, is, with ourselves, only a reality because our bodily thinking makes it so. The only entity was the abstraction of the all-pervading BRIMH or universal spirit. The material world, as it presented itself to their eyes, was an evolving manifestation of that spirit; and humanity, in its material form, was chained to a series of incarnations among those phenomena which we call the universe. The continuing human spirit (if it did continue) would eventually be reabsorbed in the universal, after interminable sacrificial reincarnations, as a culmination of the complete detachment of the spirit of the individual from material concerns.

Now it appears to follow, logically enough, from this conception of things that it was an obligation on men first of all to live on a higher plane of spirituality than their parents had done, and secondly, to raise up for themselves, as soon as possible, seed through which the chain of spiritual existence might be carried a stage farther and a step higher: as they themselves expressed it, to achieve the fruit of their birth. Again, into their philosophy woman imported a very serious complication. She was a necessary agent in the process of Becoming, and without her the seed could not be fertilised so as to continue the chain. At the same time, she

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

was evidently at that epoch not only the passive agent, but to such a degree the chattel and subservient possession of man, that it is hardly surprising that she was scarcely regarded as other than the materialistic medium through which alone man could fulfil his obligations on this earthly illusory pilgrimage. Such being the case, the Hindu law-givers in effect inculcated the doctrine, not only that she was merely the complement of man, but that she was only the complement of man in the material sphere and had no separate spiritual existence. Incidentally this was, of course, a very convenient theory from the man's point of view, and it has been accepted and acted upon for thousands of years. What, therefore, was based upon a philosophic theory of existence has in practice become the ineradicable bane of orthodox Hinduism—and of all orthodox Hindus. A woman is, in fact, apart from a husband, a far less considerable factor in the spiritual scheme of life than an animal, and infinitely less to be considered than a cow.

Meanwhile the scheme of a man's life demanded that he beget a successor in the chain of incarnation at the very earliest possible moment.

All the deplorable results tabulated in the earlier chapters of 'Mother India' flow directly from this Hindu conception of the universe. How, indeed, could it well be otherwise until the system was confronted with a competing

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

system, and then only if the confrontation could result in a demonstration of the fatal consequences ensuing? Indeed, a demonstration, satisfactory to impartial judges, is insufficient. The Hindus themselves must be convinced, since only from within, and by their own efforts at a reform of their scheme of life, can salvation come.

How hard it will be to change the trend of thought of the vast bulk of Hindus can perhaps be realised if we take into account the dead weight of habits ingrained for perhaps 250 generations. Moreover, there is the convenience of the present system to men, for centuries encouraged to the completest self-indulgence, and the support given to it by all those women who have lived through their period of victimisation. The reformers will have the task not only of fighting their own fleshly weakness, their own inherited tendency to self-indulgence—as well as that of their fellow-men—but also of breaking down the opposition of the greatest of all the latent forces in India—that of the women martyrs whose salvation is the only means of restoring and revivifying the race.

A perusal of the statistics in 'Mother India,' so ably marshalled by its authoress, and a consideration of the appalling obstacles to be overcome, may well induce the feeling that salvation is beyond the bounds of hope. The discouragement will be deepened, especially to those who

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

know not India, by the manner in which Miss Mayo's book has been vilified. But to those of us who have long known the facts, and who have gone about the business to our hands from day to day among these people whose case seems so desperate, the discouragement is qualified by gleams of hope. From time to time, and at too great intervals of time and space, one comes across individuals or an association of individuals who are willing to give their lives to the cause of emancipation of the outcast, the education of women, or the inculcation of the civic virtues. Not one of us who have spent the best of our lives in India but knows that there are Hindus capable of sacrificing their all for the betterment of conditions in the home and the enlightenment of their fellow-countrymen in regard to their responsibilities. These prophets are without much honour in their own country, and make but a small disturbance in the ocean of quiescence which is the social system of Mother India. But they are multiplying, and that is why I for one refuse to be discouraged.

It is quite true that Gandhi, when he has the courage publicly to denounce these inherited customs, pointing out, as he has done, that so many of them have no higher sanction than that of some commentator, is disowned and attacked by his orthodox brethren. Nevertheless, the fact that Gandhi has seen the root trouble, and has had the temerity to preach on behalf of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

internal reform, is full of good augury. Mahatma Gandhi is, perhaps unfortunately, not a Brahmin but a Banya. While this makes his championship of social reform the more creditable to him, it may weaken his advocacy, since a Banya does not speak with the full authority which vests in a Brahmin. But Gandhi possesses the quality of saintliness and complete selflessness which in India makes a wider appeal than all else; and since his teaching is in effect, "Get back to the simplicity and happiness of former days; but as a preliminary reform your habits and mode of living, because otherwise you cannot attain to that ideal state," his doctrine will carry weight, despite his non-Brahminical status.

Much has been written on one side or the other about the influence of the educational system implanted in India, and it is a subject in which I am greatly interested, since I had at different times some responsibility for its working and the usual opportunities for forming an opinion as to its effects. Here I can hardly avoid a reference to the remark, quoted in chapter xvi. (page 200) of Miss Mayo's book. An American educator in India is recorded as saying: "After twenty odd years of experience in India, I have come to the conclusion that the whole system here is wrong. These people should have had two generations of Primary Schools all over the land before ever they saw a Grammar School; two generations of Grammar Schools before the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

creation of the first High School; and certainly not before the seventh or eighth generation should a single Indian University have opened its doors."

Now since I am in this place concerned not so much with competitive educational systems as with the influence of such education as we have, rightly or wrongly, provided since 1839 in India, I do not at the moment propose to criticise a sentiment with which many Indian officials have much latent sympathy, or an ideal which we might have adopted, but did not, ninety years ago. It is, however, relevant to remark that if we had followed the plan there indicated, there would be no prospect of opening the first Indian University for another century. But what is more to the point is this—I believe quite incontrovertible—observation: if there were to-day no University in India, there would not even be the small beginnings of that 'sentiment of uneasiness' concerning child marriages, for instance, to which Miss Mayo refers on p. 34. It is higher education, restricted as it is, that has begun to stir the leaven of thought. It is the products of higher education who have had contact on understanding terms with the west who have become uneasy; and it is through the spread of higher education only that the movement towards social reform in Hinduism will acquire the momentum necessary for effective action.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

There is a suggestion in 'Mother India' that the Government of India, on the one hand perhaps too careful in avoiding interference with the social evils inherent in orthodox Hinduism, has, on the other hand, been premature in according a measure of political emancipation which as one result makes over to the care of Indian Ministers, responsible to an assembly so fractionally representative of India's millions, the care of such subjects as education, medical relief, and sanitation. As one of those responsible for the formulation of the political reforms which culminated in the Government of India Act of 1919, I would like to assure Miss Mayo that there was great searching of hearts over this aspect of the case. Elsewhere I have endeavoured to describe some of the considerations which actuated Lord Chelmsford's Council in arriving at the views which ultimately secured the endorsement of Parliament. Here I want to suggest that there is room for arguing that it is actually fortunate that the Indians should have direct responsibility in those departments of the administration through whose intermediary practical State reform of abuses must come. Let me illustrate my meaning. Some years before Lord Willingdon (then Governor of Bombay) and I sent up to the then Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, a memorandum on the political reforms for which at that time we thought the Bombay Presidency was ripe, I had a long conversation

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

with my friend, G. K. Gokhale. India's great need for a higher rate of expenditure on education and works of material public utility was under discussion. It was admitted that without increasing the revenue there were many difficulties in the way of the necessary expansion. Gokhale agreed that India was very lightly taxed, but I expressed the view that the Government of India, as then constituted, would hesitate to propose an increase in taxation in any way commensurate with the needs we were discussing. To which Gokhale replied: "Why not liberalise the system by giving Indians fuller representation, with control of provincial finance? If we had that control, we should be able to double the present revenue; but I agree that a bureaucratic administration cannot largely increase the existing taxation."

Not only has India secured in large part the representative and responsible government to which Gokhale aspired, but her own Ministers are now in a position to use all their influence (if they will) on behalf of India, and they have access to all the proofs of India's crying need for internal social reform.

III.

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

In his interesting article in 'Foreign Affairs' in the issue of April 1927, Sir Frederick Whyte

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

discussed the political future of India, and gave an admirable diagnosis of the Indian mentality (or rather mentalities) in relation to politics, ideal and practical. Though references to this subject find their place elsewhere, it seems not inapposite here to refer to the point of view taken by some of those responsible for the reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919. As Sir Frederick Whyte truly says, "We do not yet know whether representative institutions in India are a fish out of water, or merely a creature which will change its colour and its habits in its new surroundings. And it will be a long time before we can answer these questions." We in India in 1916 were in the same predicament, and we certainly cherished no illusions as to the difficulties in the path towards establishing representative government with responsibility. But sixty years earlier, in the Proclamation of 1858, the purpose of fitting Indians to govern themselves had been laid down as the goal of British administration. An apprenticeship in local self-government had been served by India for forty years, with, on the whole, not unsatisfactory results in some provinces, while a closer association of educated Indians with the provincial administrations had gradually been evolved, culminating in what are known as the Morley-Minto Reforms. As these led to the extreme limit of Indianisation short of parliamentary responsibility, it was a question not of develop-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ing further a system which was not susceptible of further expansion, but either of taking a plunge into the unknown, or else of refusing any further advance whatever towards the goal indicated in 1858.

Obviously there comes a moment when one can no longer refuse a share in the responsibilities of administration on the grounds of unfitness; and, indeed, except by giving opportunity to Indians, there was no possibility to them of ever demonstrating their qualifications. To quote again from Sir Frederick Whyte: "Born and bred in the school of agitation, conceiving of politics solely as a game in which they are the bullet and the Government the target" (this spirit and attitude, I may say, in parenthesis, were cultivated and fostered by the Morley-Minto Reforms), "they have never devised or proposed, they have remained content with criticism." It would, I am convinced, have been wholly unreasonable to have withheld from India any longer a chance to show that her highly intelligent people were capable of rising to an occasion and of developing that sense of reality which can only come with the actual responsibility for one's own actions.

We, on our side, had nothing to give India except institutions with which we ourselves were familiar. Whether those institutions are going to prove suitable to the Indian continent or not, it is quite impossible to predict. All that one

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

can say at present is that, by the Government of India Act of 1919, we have given India an instrument which should, in the course of generations, enable Indians themselves, if they show the requisite constructive capacity, to forge a mechanism of government which really is adapted to India's needs. It is quite certain that no Indian politician has as yet formulated definitely in his own mind what the final form of Indian self-government should be. It would be a miracle were things otherwise. Think of a sub-continent with a population of three hundred and fifty millions made up of aborigines, Dravidians, Aryan-speaking races, Mongols, and Semites drawn originally from every corner of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Realise that these people speak more than fifty different languages and profess a great variety of religious beliefs. Bear in mind that a south Indian has only been able to make himself understood to a northerner within the past seventy or eighty years, and then only through the medium of the English language; that the Brahmin from Madras cannot possibly make himself understood by a single person of the 300,000,000 Indians outside that Presidency unless his interlocutor be one of the few hundred thousand who have had an English education.

Lastly, postulate that it is only within the past half century, with the infiltration of foreign ideas cloaked in a foreign language, that less than

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

one-hundredth of the population have come to regard India as a national unit.

If these considerations are borne in mind, and if, further, the age-long social system of India is taken into account, then some inkling of the difficulties of the problem of the new India will be had. There has been nothing like this problem in the history of the world, either in complexity or magnitude; and what adds to the difficulties of those who want patiently to give a lead, step by step, towards the establishment of a form of government suited to the Hindu genius, is not so much the inevitable non-comprehension of the problem on the part of the average English elector, as the reactionary attitude adopted by some who do know the intricacies of the task. I received a letter during 1917 from an old friend, then in retirement, under whom I had served part of my early apprenticeship in India; he knew that, as a member of the Indian Government, I was concerned in the elaboration of the reforms scheme.

The purport of his letter was to warn me against being a party to any plan which would impair the authority or diminish the prestige and independence of the Indian Civil Service. It was easy, of course, to reply that the duty of the I.C.S. was to serve India, and that India had not been created to serve the I.C.S., but my correspondent was voicing sentiments widely held which did definitely add to the difficulties.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It has often been a puzzle to people in England to find a highly educated intellectual person like Gandhi advocating some of the impracticable policies which are identified with his name. It is no puzzle to the mass of Indians. To them idealism is everything, reality but little. And this attitude of mind is in strict conformity with the Hindu philosophy. When Gandhi aspires to lead India back to the mythical age of peace and contentment, far from the madding western world's ignoble strife, he is aspiring to an ideal. If one urges upon him that his ideal never did exist; that invasion, famine, and pestilence periodically ravaged the country from the earliest dawn of human existence; and that consequently it is not practical politics to hope for the golden age now, no impression is made upon him; because within his vision is not a reality of the past, but the ideal of what the past should have been and what the future should be if the ultimate inner happiness of the spirit is to be realised. It must be remembered that to the Hindu concept, borne down to him through the ages, material well-being, worldly riches, professional or commercial success are not even factors in happiness. Merit, and spiritual merit at that, is all the world. In fact the teachings and ideals of Mahatma Gandhi are precisely the teachings of Gautama Buddha, and they are the only sort of propaganda that will unite all castes of Hindus under one banner.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Let me show, by an illustration, how a devout Hindu's mind works in reference to human suffering. Famine administration and famine preventive measures on an organised scale are a conception completely foreign to the Hindu mind. He will be most generous, and contribute munificently to immediate distress, but in his inmost soul he does these things not because his heart is wrung by the sufferings of others, but in order to acquire spiritual merit. An old Hindu friend, now dead, came to me during the 1900 famine and said he wanted to provide material to feed a 1000 starving Hindus. In my ignorance I expressed my appreciation, and suggested that he could most usefully hand over the lakh of rupees (£6600) which he wanted to devote to this purpose to the Famine Relief Fund, for the administration of which a very representative committee had been set up. This was not at all to my friend's purpose.

He wanted the 1000 necessitous Hindus to be collected together on a site where he could personally arrange for their feeding, and it was no satisfaction to him to make a money contribution to the funds of an impersonal committee. Not by such means—even though thereby 1500, instead of 1000, needy should be succoured—would he acquire that merit which his soul longed for. Rightly or wrongly I managed to arrange matters to help him to his soul's satisfaction.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I am persuaded that more of the misunderstandings which hamper our relations with Indians are occasioned by our misconception of the workings of the atavistic Hindu mentality than by any particular concrete difference of habit or custom. We are shocked sometimes by the refusal of Indians to see eye to eye with us in some of our schemes for the protection of the ryot [1] from the moneylender. If only the well-being of the peasant were at stake we should not have to complain; although, even so, the material side of the question would not have the same forceful appeal as to us. But any such measures involve an interference of greater or less magnitude with customs which are the outcome of thousand-year-old social habits and traditions, and nothing is more dreaded by Indians, even of western education, than the disintegrating influences of alien changes introduced into their social organism.

I wonder if there is still any one who looks to an early extirpation of the system of caste from the Indian social fabric; I fear there must be, since I have not infrequently been asked, here in England, as to the progress of modern education and as to how far it is affecting caste. Not only is there no likelihood of an early disappearance of the system, but it is so woven into the web of Indian life that its disappearance would cause chaos. Originally evolved as a

[1] Peasant.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

protection from degeneration through contact with inferior races, the whole complex edifice of Hindu society has been built upon this foundation stone. It is the fact that Depressed Classes Missions, often organised and manned by high-caste Hindus, work for the betterment of the life conditions of the lower castes. This is an interesting result of contact with the west. The Social Reform movement has many patrons, including such eminent personalities as His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. But it is safe to say that the ingrained habit of social self-protection which lies at the base of the system is so fixed and so universal that, while the efforts of the reformers may result in the mitigation of the degrading conditions in some cases imposed on the lowest castes, the tendency to multiply the society's sub-divisions is still as active to-day as is the movement to break down distinctions.

I am not sure that any definite deductions can be suggested from the considerations here advanced, but I myself find in them no grounds for discouragement. Taking the biggest view, we have, more by accident than by any design of our own, fallen heirs to the greatest responsibility that ever embarrassed any nation. Admitting the many mistakes we have made, we have nevertheless, on the whole, consistently and honestly striven to serve the interests, material and moral, of our great Indian de-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

pendency. Always approaching the problems of government from the standpoint of British principles and ideals of democracy, we have aimed at associating Indians, with their widely differing civilisation, overlaid by a veneer of western education and culture, with the administration of a system of government based upon the product of 800 years of our own experience.

True to the hopes held out seventy years ago, we are inviting Indians to participate in the responsibility for carving out their own future and their own institutions. If my very superficial and inadequate study of the Indian mentality is in any degree correct, there is justification for hoping that co-operation will supersede conflict; and that, while the widely differing temperament, outlook, and philosophy of the east will always provide problems of adaptation, India will, in process of time, evolve a machinery of government suited to her requirements and social needs.

One moral, however, stands out from the experiences derived from post-reform agitation. If there has been a disposition among Indians to look the gift horse of partially responsible institutions too critically and ungratefully in the mouth, there has been, in England, a most disappointing want of generosity of outlook in certain quarters from which a wider statesmanship might have been looked for.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

It is admitted on all hands that we have incurred responsibility for the peace, good government, and well-being of the peoples of India. Along bureaucratic lines we can unquestionably claim to have a good record of achievement. It is indeed precisely because we have that to our credit that a change became necessary. Yet it could almost have been thought, by readers of a certain section of the commentaries on the problem, while the Government of India Act, 1919, was under discussion, and for four or five years afterwards, that Britain expected, and had a right to expect, that there would never be need for change. Even more surprising was the campaign discouraging young Englishmen to take service in India—a campaign which met, for a time, with most damaging success. Fortunately not for long. The fact that the difficulties in the path of administration in India are nowadays greater than they were; the circumstance that there is wider scope for individual initiative and success; and the vastly greater interest taken in the problem now than in the days of more or less mechanical bureaucratic government; these conditions in the long run will attract, rather than deter, young men of ambition.

And, despite the loud invectives of the extremists, it is quite certain that the rising spirit of nationalism, while it desires to free Indians from the sense of racial inferiority, has no wish

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to eliminate the Englishman's guidance and friendship. Antagonism is inherent in discrimination. Hitherto it has been necessary to discriminate in a sense which inspires that feeling of racial inferiority which is the main stimulus to the race-hatred voiced by Indian extremists. The obligation, under which we have felt ourselves to be, to maintain our own western standards of impartial administration, has occasioned the rules limiting the proportion of Indians to be recruited to the higher grades of the various public services. And these rules have occasionally carried, in their application, their own condemnation. Take, for example, the educational service, and the following instance of what actually happened. There was a vacancy in the post of Principal of a College situated in the territories of one of the Indian Princes. The provincial government concerned, in asking the Secretary of State for India to nominate a suitable man, specified, *inter alia*, that he should have at least a second-class degree of Oxford or Cambridge; have a good record in athletics; and, above all, not be over thirty years of age. The then Secretary of State sent out a man of forty-seven, with no particular degree, who had a lacuna of several years in his record, and who had no experience in teaching.

Now this occurred many years ago, and could not happen now. But it still occasionally happens that second-rate and unsuitable men are sent

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

out; and educated Indians, such, for example, as the Honble. Mr Paranjpye, a wrangler of high repute, cannot reasonably be expected to view the appointment of such Englishmen to posts in the educational service with equanimity and acquiescence. India wants our best men, and welcomes them; but exclusion of Indian candidates from posts which they are qualified to fill in favour of westerners of questionable or second-rate attainments must, and did, generate resentment.

I have referred to the many mistakes we have made in India, and it is felt now that perhaps the gravest of these, because the least revocable, was that made by the Government of India[1] at the instance of Macaulay, in the decision "that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe: in short, of European knowledge." The result of this was to place a premium upon an English education to the detriment of the spread of learning among the people at large in their own vernaculars.

Hence at the present day we have a small percentage of the population possessed of an education on western lines, constituting the *intelligentsia*, while primary education has lagged behind. The balance will in time be restored;

[1] Para. 7 of the despatch of Lord Auckland's Government in 1839.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

but it is quite arguable that, under pressure from the *intelligentsia*, we have prematurely accorded to India as a whole the boon of representative institutions. If this be so, it is our own fault. And the mistake is, I suggest, on the right side. Indians as a whole are at least as intelligent as the population of any country; any one who has had to deal with the Indian farmer will agree in this. And, *pari passu* with the wider spread of a sound education in the vernacular, we shall be redressing the balance. There is, it is true, another difficulty here—namely, in the provision of teachers of the right stamp and with the proper qualifications; and this difficulty has undoubtedly been accentuated by the policy adopted in 1839. Since, however, the problem is now recognised, and since in every province progress is being made in remedying the evil, one may fairly hope and believe that with patience we may succeed in making good. It has, at all events, been the view of many of us who have been concerned with the administration in India for many years past that we could not refuse to the *intelligentsia* of our own creation an opportunity to prove their fitness merely on the ground (also of our own creation) that the spread of education was so unequal that representative institutions were inapplicable.

I know that Sir Harcourt Butler, to quote only one authority, has felt that the introduction of the reforms embodied in the Government

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

of India Act of 1919 has added immensely to the interest of the task of government. One arrives at a stage in bureaucratic rule when there is no further scope for development towards liberal institutions short of a radical revision of the whole system. That stage was reached with the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908, which went to the extreme limit of Indianisation short of a Parliamentary system, and we had either to stand still or take the plunge; and though there is plenty of room for argument as to whether the moment had, or had not, come in 1919, it is impossible to ignore the influence of the tremendous events of 1914-18 upon the whole world and all who were capable of thought. For my own part, I hold that it is better to err on the side of generosity. Excess of caution not infrequently defeats its own ends, and a gift that is too long deferred becomes a concession unwillingly granted.

I am tempted to conclude this by the very wise aphorism from 'Tristram Shandy':—

> Tell me, ye learned, shall we be for ever adding so much to the bulk—so little to the stock?
>
> Shall we for ever make new books, as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring only out of one vessel into another?
>
> Are we for ever to be twisting, and untwisting the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

same rope? for ever in the same track—for ever at the same pace?

Shall we be destined to the days of eternity, on holy-days, as well as working days, to be showing the relics of learning, as monks do the relics of their saints—without working one—one single miracle with them?

But perhaps it is even more to the point to recall the advice of an eminent French student of our problem in India, M. Chailley. He says, on p. 561 of Sir William Meyer's translation of his 'Problems of British India':—

"The Government of India has entered on a definite path, from which it is difficult to go back; it is bound to go on until it finds a clear outlet. It has organised an educational system whose results have hitherto been mediocre as regards knowledge, and unsatisfactory as regards politics, but which is all the same an agent of progress. The Young India which this system is helping to form may disquiet certain minds, but it constitutes a steady growth; and it is a step towards a better India. The British Government cannot think of destroying its system or repudiating its work. It cannot retrace its steps; it must go on."

And in reference particularly to education, he adds:—

"But it can modify its educational system, can improve the products of this, and can, above all, make a different use of them . . . much remains to be done."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NOTE TO CHAPTER X.

Of the Hindu's mystic conception of life it is impossible to give an accurate idea; and I believe the better plan is simply to quote here the verses of Kabir, numbered VII. in the volume published by Macmillan & Co. entitled 'Kabir's Poems,' translated by Rabindranath Tagore.

When He Himself reveals Himself, Brimha brings into manifestation
That which can never be seen.
As the seed is in the plant, as the shade is in the tree, as the void is in the sky, as infinite forms are in the void—
So from beyond the Infinite, the Infinite comes, and from the Infinite the finite extends.

The creature is in Brimha, and Brimha is in the creature: they are ever distinct, yet ever united.
He Himself is the tree, the seed, and the germ.
He Himself is the flower, the fruit, and the shade.
He Himself is the sun, the light, and the lighted.
He Himself is Brimha, Creature, and Maya.
He himself is the manifold form, the infinite space.
He is the breath, the word, and the meaning.
He Himself is the limit and the limitless; and beyond both the limited and the limitless is He, the Pure Being.
He is the Imminent Mind in Brimha and in the creature.

The Supreme Soul is seen within the Soul.
The Point is seen within the Supreme Soul.
And within the Point, the reflection is seen again.
Kabir is blest because he has this supreme vision.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT NEXT?

THE old parable of the danger of putting new wine into old wineskins is specially applicable to India. And it must always be remembered that, large as is the number of the old bottles in question, no two of them are of precisely the same material. If, to pursue the analogy, we take each wineskin as representing each of the provinces into which, politically and administratively, India is at the present time subdivided, it will be found that the material of each old wineskin is composed of at least three or four major elements stitched together with greater or less success by the thread of the British executive. Taking the Indian continent as a whole, we have to add a large number of Principalities of varying nationality—Rajput, Musulman, Sikh, Maratha, and Brahmin—each one representing an individual wineskin, though into these we have not directly, or to a comparable degree, infused the new wine of the western democratic ideals of government.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Now we have tried, as these pages have aimed at showing, to introduce the western *virus* by degrees, commencing at the bottom; knowing that a too rapid filling of the old bottles with the new wine must result in bursting the whole fabric. Commencing with the ideal, set out in the Proclamation of 1858, to fit Indians by degrees for the administration of their own affairs, a scheme of local self-government was inaugurated in 1882; and between that date and 1919 there has been continuous development of the policy of associating Indians more and more with the determination of their own fate. In 1919 the step was taken of according to the representatives of the people direct responsibility for the administration of certain departments of provincial affairs; and an inquiry is now on foot to ascertain and report to Parliament what success has attended the experiment, and whether a measure, and if so what measure, of further advance is possible.

The extremist element among the Indian political *intelligentsia*, like Oliver, have consistently asked for more, and are now demanding the complete surrender of British control. That, of course, is natural, and no surprise need be felt. They, indeed, not only ask that the old wineskins be filled to their utmost capacity with new wine, but demand that all the old provincial bottles be bound together into one bundle, thus intensifying enormously the strain

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

upon them, and they finally request that the thread of British control, holding the material together, be removed altogether.

Let us see of what material actually some of the provincial wineskins are composed. The Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh, includes the province of Gujarat, part of the Maratha country, and a portion of the Kanarese-speaking area of Southern India. It also contains a large and important section of Mahomedans, chiefly Bohras and Khojas, of the trading classes. Finally it comprises the habitat of 90 per cent of the Parsees. The Punjab contains Sikhs, Jats (Hindus), many of the Hindu writer castes, and Mahomedans of varying races and denominations. Bengal, ethnologically perhaps the most uniform of the provincial political areas, includes a very large proportion of Mahomedans with its Bengali Hindu population. Madras, where three distinct languages are spoken, contains a vast number of Indian Christians and untouchables, who are at constant grips with the Brahmin oligarchy that has, through the ages, kept them in humiliating subjection. Equally diverse conditions obtain in the other provinces.

Even in the provincial sphere, then, the material is sufficiently heterogeneous, and everywhere the element that has held the material together has been British rule and the confidence inspired by it.

Recognising the difficulties in the way of in-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

troducing and developing the principles of self-government on a democratic and representative basis in areas peopled by such widely differing races and interests, it has frequently been suggested that the present political map of India ought to be scrapped, and provincial areas reconstituted on a basis of ethnographic groups; and undoubtedly such a proposal, if it were feasible, has much to recommend it. But it is important to bear in mind that, though a heroic measure of this character would remove some, and perhaps the more dangerous and glaring, incongruities of the present situation, no scheme short of cutting the whole area up into fifty or sixty small sections will entirely get rid of all the complexities resulting from the patchwork distribution of India's multiple populations. Again, while such a scheme would facilitate the task of the theoretic constitution builder, there would be a very real risk of destroying, or at least interrupting, customs based on economic, as well as political, convenience that have grown up and taken firm root as a result of the political organisation of the country during the past century. Thus to constitute, say, a Maratha province, which would presumably embrace Bombay as its capital, distinct from the province of Gujarat, is to ignore the fact that industrially, agriculturally, and economically the whole of Gujarat is now inextricably linked up with the interior economy of the port of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Bombay. Moreover, despite internal distinction of race, language, and religions, a very real provincial sentiment has grown up in some provinces which would resent a doctrinaire modification of boundaries.

Accordingly, seeing that such a radical step as the constitution of the forty or fifty provincial areas that would be needed to give validity to the principle would fail to provide a completely satisfactory solution of the socio-politico-religious complications, and seeing, moreover, that any proposals based on the principle would here and there be resisted with violence and with considerable show of reason as militating against the economic well-being of large sections of the country, the authorities have never had the temerity seriously to embark upon an examination of the suggestion; and for present purposes it is safe to assume that, with certain minor modifications here and there, the existing provincial boundaries will continue, and must be assumed as fixed for the purpose of studying possible developments.

Now, excluding Burma, there are eight major provinces in India, occupying three-fifths of the whole area of the country, peopled by four-fifths of India's total population; while two-fifths of the area are covered by the numerous Indian States, administered under treaty with us, with (in all the larger principalities) complete internal sovereignty, by their Princes. The

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

range of political independence is very varied; but of all it is true to say that their only nexus with British India or the outer world is the British Crown. The character of the administrations within this vast area varies from the primitive and patriarchal, of which I have given some account of a favourable example in Udaipur (Chapter VII.), to the quasi-constitutional in Mysore, Baroda, and a few others. The Princes of these territories differ widely in their conception of what should be their relations with the outer world and the British Crown, but they are unanimously determined not to be the appanage of, or dependent upon, a democratically constituted Government of India representative of the politicians of British India. The *intelligentsia* of British India, however, take no cognisance of this complication. The constitution, as framed by the so-called All-Parties Conference at Lucknow, postulated in the Nehru Report, simply and conveniently ignores the facts of the case. These, however, refuse to be ignored; and the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow has served the very useful purpose of dragging the difficulty into the limelight.

The Princes of India have, for some time past, been in a situation of great delicacy, and their patience and tolerance have been highly praiseworthy. Sympathetic to the aspirations of India toward self-government, they have,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

for the past ten years, anxiously watched events. Uncertain whither developments might tend, they have nevertheless refrained from embarrassing the politicians of British India in their campaign. Not until the full meaning and implications of the ambition to achieve Dominion status were revealed have they drawn attention to their own interests and asserted their rights. Now that it has been made clear that they are expected to fall into the scheme of a unitary Government of India, and become part and parcel of a quasi-federation of provinces to be administered by the elected representatives of the people of British India, the Princes have, quite naturally and inevitably, protested that they can consent to no such system.

The value of the Nehru Report of the All-Parties Conference lies, in fact, in the recognition, by the politicians who framed the scheme, that the States of the Protected Princes of India constitute an integral factor in any scheme for a unitary Commonwealth of India with an executive subject to Indian Parliamentary control. The Princes' territory cannot be ignored, nor can British India, as a whole, devise a scheme for political evolution without taking stock of, and finding an adequate and acceptable place in the continental system for, the Indian States.

Hitherto British endeavour to find means for extending the Indians' share in the administration has confined itself to British India;

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

and that task has been sufficiently absorbing and onerous. The general scheme of the Act of 1919 was to give to provinces a much wider control over their own affairs, and to place the administration of the majority of the departments of provincial governments in the hands of Ministers responsible to the provincial legislature—and so to the people of the provinces. Certain services and departments were still reserved to the executive, and powers of control were given to the Governors with a view to enabling the King's government to be carried on in any eventuality.

Although the Parliamentary assemblies of the all-India central legislature were greatly enlarged, the Government of India was not, in any of its branches, transferred to Ministers, or made directly dependent upon the will of the assemblies.

The demand now being made is that complete autonomy should be conferred not only in the provinces, but also in the Government of India, and that the Government of India, as thus made dependent upon the will of the peoples' representatives, should be given complete Dominion status under the Crown.

As the ultimate ideal this goal can be respected as a legitimate ambition for India, but it is a goal which must be approached step by step, and each step must be firmly established before the next one is taken. And we are still at the

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

stage of experiment in the matter of the provinces. It is a goal, moreover, which clearly cannot be attained pending the discovery of means whereby the rights and prerogatives of the Indian States may, in such a scheme, be safeguarded. It is an ideal, finally, of which we cannot contemplate the attainment until the success of self-determination and responsible administration in the provinces, with due regard to the protection of minority interests, has been definitely assured. In the past we have advanced, spreading education and opportunity for service wider and wider; from local self-government to partial provincial responsibility. We have still got to develop and establish firmly the ground won.

Since I left the Indian service in 1920, I have no claim to closer first-hand knowledge of the success or failure of the working of the Act of 1919 than has any other reader of the newspapers; though perhaps my personal acquaintance with Indians of all classes enables me to interpret with a closer approximation to accuracy the value to be attached to the incidents that have marked the proceedings of the legislatures both provincial and imperial. Unless I have misinterpreted the symptoms, I think there are legitimate grounds for a moderate satisfaction as to the spirit in which, in most of the provincial assemblies, the Act of 1919 has been worked. There have been

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

incidents, foolish obstruction occasionally, and evidences of impatience, which are all symptomatic not so much of incapacity or unwillingness to co-operate, as of the atmosphere generated everywhere in the years after the Great War. Just as people here in England talked nonsense about a war to end war and a world fit for heroes to live in, thus creating the spirit which led directly to the General Strike and the dallying with communism, so in India the phrase 'Self-determination' came to be interpreted as a divine Logos, connoting a world of unlimited rights divested of all corresponding duties. Too much importance should not, therefore, be attached to the more extreme and silly actions of some of the provincial legislatures. It is useful to bear in mind that, even if there has been, as is probably the case, a slackening of efficiency in the administration here and there, the King's Government has been successfully carried on. And it is well to remember that no radical change in principle, such as was effected in 1919, can come into full working without the commission of mistakes and the perpetration of folly. The trouble is that, in England, we get news of the failures, with perhaps exaggeration, in order to enhance their news value, while the humdrum acts of constructive legislation frequently pass unreported.

So far as it is legitimate to express an opinion

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

from a distance, I cannot resist the conclusion that, so far as concerns the provinces, the reforms of 1919 have not been a failure, in the sense of being demonstrably in advance of the capacity of Indians, or of having resulted in a definite set-back to India's general progress. But the Indian Legislative Assembly's record stands upon a different footing. Had the Government of India been subject to parliamentary control by the legislature in the same way as have been the provinces, the administration would have suffered very severely. The attitude of the various sections of the popular party has, on several occasions, been marked by the gravest inconsistency as well as with petulance and lack of balance. A sense of corporate responsibility has been singularly lacking. But need this excite surprise or disappointment? The central Indian legislature is composed of provincial representatives from the provinces of India under arrangements which secure that minorities in the community shall not be entirely eliminated. Such representatives have, in the majority of instances, two factors in common and only two. One is the English language and the other is a newly-born, but as yet somewhat nebulous, sentiment of *Indian* national pride. The interests, sometimes dull but always of great practical importance, of the provinces have been neglected in favour of the great new game of national claims. The impression created

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in the mind of the far-away onlooker is that of an assembly which fails completely to realise, or to wish to face, the facts, and which, instead of being, as a Dominion or Commonwealth Assembly is, the advisers upon and guardians of the welfare of the states and provinces composing the whole, is content to limit its own policy to a refusal to help and to a wrangle for greater opportunities for obstruction. In other words the Indian Legislative Assembly [1] (the popular chamber) has signally failed, during the past ten years, to impress itself as qualified to discharge, as controlling Parliament, the duty of administering the internal, to say nothing of the external, affairs of the Indian Empire.

I do not think that, intrinsically, the constitution elaborated at Lucknow by the 'All-Parties' Conference, which would establish India as a self-governing Dominion, requires as yet detailed consideration or criticism. The Simon Commission will probably find that the scheme is far from being generally acceptable, even if, upon its merits, it were possible to regard the proposals seriously at this stage. But what does need to be seriously considered is the situation which will be occupied by the Indian States in connection with any plan for a unitary representation of India on the counsels of the British Empire. The action of the Nationalist Indians has forced the Princes to face the issue,

[1] These criticisms do not apply to the Upper Chamber.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

by the assumption that the latter would willingly fall into a junior partnership with them; and although the issue cannot arise, in the form postulated by the Nationalists, for very many years, if ever, it is of importance now, on every ground, to have a clear understanding of what the Indian States must mean, for as long as one can foresee, as a factor in the Indian 'Dominion.'

If, then, I am right in contending that the all-India problem cannot be envisaged, still less solved, without due regard being paid to the status, within all-India, of our allies whose possessions constitute two-fifths of the continent, it is of greater importance that there should be a better comprehension of the position and rights of the Princes than that one should worry about an academic and theoretic 'system' such as that proposed by the Nehru Report.

Now the status of the Indian Princes, which has been best treated of in Sir William Lee-Warner's 'Protected Princes of India,'[1] is, in the full-power States, that of independent sovereigns for purposes of internal rule, but of subordinate allies of the Crown (paramount power) for purposes of external relations. This status has grown out of treaties with individual States, and out of analogous usage, governing our relations with those States with whom collectively a general settlement has been reached

[1] Macmillan & Co.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

in place of an individual treaty with each. In either case the paramount power has undertaken complete protection and given guarantees against external aggression, but has in return claimed, and on occasion has exercised, the right to intervene in cases of gross misrule. Broadly speaking, it is only in regard to this right of intervention, and to the practice adopted in dealing with the conditions in which such interference has been resorted to, that our Indian allies have expressed some dissatisfaction.

The paramount power is the British Crown acting with the advice of Ministers in England through the Crown's representative, the Viceroy, in India. The Treaty States, and those to which internal sovereignty has been confirmed otherwise than by treaty, are the other parties concerned. It has been a principle, rigidly adhered to by the Government of India, that the concerns and administration of Indian Princes' territory lie outside the purview of the administrations of British India. No questions relating to such territory or its rulers are permitted to be asked in the British Indian legislative assemblies. Matters of common concern to British and States India are negotiated between the executive of the former and the Viceroy through his representatives of the specially constituted political service.

Now this specially constituted service is administered under the Viceroy's direction by

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a Political Secretary; and the Viceroy, as representing the paramount power, is himself represented, in every important *enclave* of Indian Princes' territory, by a member of that service. The political agent, in his relation to the Durbars to which he is accredited by the Viceroy, corresponds either with the Prince direct or, in matters of lesser moment, with the Prince's accredited agent (*vakil*). In ordinary circumstances, therefore, the political agent is the sole channel through which the views of the Durbar reach the paramount power. In practice, moreover, the nature of many of the political agent's communications is not made known to the Durbar. Princes have felt in the past, with some justification, that this arrangement does not correspond to the needs of the situation, or adequately provide for the impartial presentment of their point of view. They are entitled to know the contents of any report relating to matters which concern their State; and should be given the right and opportunity, whenever there is a difference of view between the Viceroy's agent and themselves, to represent matters personally to the Viceroy, or through their ministers to the Political Secretary. It is true that there are rules of political practice which are intended to secure that every Prince shall have a full opportunity to represent his views; but it is also true that the system of secret and confidential reports has weakened

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the confidence of many Princes in the political system. That there has been every desire to establish the fairest possible dealings is evidenced by the system of appeals to the Secretary of State for India in cases where a Prince is dissatisfied; while, in justiciable proceedings, there is also an appeal to the Privy Council. It would, I believe, satisfy the great majority of Indian Princes, who are on the whole intensely individualist, if our political relations with them could be reformed upon a basis of open diplomacy and greater opportunity for individual representation to the paramount power. The right of appeal to a Secretary of State for India does not satisfy them. A Secretary of State, advised by an Indian Council, is not, in their eyes, the independent, impartial, tribunal qualified, on behalf of the paramount power, to determine important issues in which an individual Prince is at variance with the views and decisions of the Viceroy. I believe the true solution—which would satisfy all views—would be the creation of a small Committee of the Privy Council specially for the adjudication of all such issues.

For the representation of the views of the whole body of the Indian Princes there was constituted, in 1919, a Chamber of Princes, with a membership of 108, where a delegation of these meet to consider and, if necessary,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

advise the Viceroy on matters of general interest to all. But it is very important to bear constantly in mind that fundamentally our relations are with each State individually, and that, in principle, no Indian State has direct relations with any other authority outside its borders. Two-fifths of the Indian Continent, therefore, are linked with the paramount power in England, through the Viceroy, but not one of the States so linked has official contact direct either with the British Indian provinces, the other States, or foreign powers. And it is almost impossible to lay too great stress upon the importance attached by the Princes to their treaty or settlement rights. Very few indeed, if any, are really willing that a committee or delegation of their own number should be consulted about, or be allowed to interfere in, problems peculiar to their own States. Given satisfactory safeguards they would infinitely prefer to deal solely with the paramount power.

In regard to their aggregate rights and privileges *vis-à-vis* a democratised government of British India, however, the position presents itself to them in widely different fashion. Given any question of common concern both to British and to the Princes' India, but in which interests conflicted, and it is evident that each individual State would be in a weak position in representing

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

its views separately. Even collectively, no Committee or Council of the Princes that could be conceived would be capable of withstanding effectively the wishes of the representatives of the 250,000,000 inhabiting British India. The Viceroy, as representing the paramount power in its relation with the Princes' States, would be placed in a wholly impossible situation if he were expected to hold the scales evenly between them and the Government of India of which also he is the head.

The problem is twofold: first of all to reassure the Princes that their rights and privileges, as guaranteed to them by the paramount power, will for all time be respected; and secondly, to find a means by which, without jeopardising those rights, their States and peoples may be brought within the entity which is known as the Indian Empire as active participants and co-partners. All history, and Indian history during the past half-century in particular, teaches the wisdom of not attempting the complete solution *per saltum;* and it will be wise to explore whether, within the Constitution established by the Act of 1919, we have not already the foundations of a half-way stepping-stone. Part II (Clauses 17 to 29) of that Statute, dealing with the Government of India, sets up two legislative bodies, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The former body, more largely than the latter composed of nominated members,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

is, as will be gathered from Clause 18[1] of the Act, differentiated in its functions from the Assembly in that it may be convoked by the Governor-General at any time for the purpose of being addressed by him. Here might perhaps be found the place in India within which could be associated members representative of States' India for purposes of advice and consultation in matters of interest to Continental India as a whole. Might not the Council of State, in which, for the purposes in view, might be associated special members representative of the Princes' India, be made a link? Sub-clause (3) of Clause 18 must already contemplate, if a definite purpose was in mind when the words were drafted, that the Governor-General might utilise this Upper Chamber as a body of advisers with whom he could confer, and to which he might remit questions for advice. The Chamber of Princes, as constituted, would make it perfectly easy for the States to elect, or nominate, such number of their representatives as might be settled upon, as

[1] 18 (1) The Council of State shall consist of not more than sixty members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act, of whom not more than twenty shall be official members.

(2) The Governor-General shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a president and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

(3) The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Council of State, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

special members of the Council of State, on which they would sit, by invitation of the Governor-General, for consideration of those problems of joint interest which would be regularly referred to them. The result of their deliberations might be formulated as a report recording their proceedings and resolutions, and would constitute the advice given on the issues submitted for their views. As a first experiment in focussing jointly the views of Princely and British India, without prejudicing the ultimate mode of bringing together more formally and constitutionally the representatives of both areas, some such scheme might be deserving of study and examination.

For ordinary British-Indian purposes the State Council would retain its present composition and functions; but it would, for a certain category of problems affecting the whole continent, constitute, with its additional members, a real Council of State with advisory functions only. The present Council of State contains sixty members: if forty representatives of States' India were added for these occasions, a body of one hundred would be set up which might be a useful corps of counsellors to the Governor-General. By such a scheme the Governor-General would retain the initiative, and would also conserve to himself full freedom of action. The Council of State, in its new metamorphosis, would become a real Privy Council in being.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

In order to reassure the Princes as to the conservation of all their prescriptive and treaty rights it would still be necessary to provide machinery outside, and above, the Governor-General, for the determination of issues in which there was a clear and well-defined conflict of interest and opinion. The views resulting from the deliberations of the enlarged Council of State would, of necessity, occasionally be conflicting; and in such cases, to secure impartial consideration of, on the one hand, British Indian interests, and, on the other, the rights, privileges, and interests of the Princes, such divergencies might for final arbitrament be considered in England by (*a*) the Secretary of State for India as representing the Government of British India; and (*b*) a small specially constituted Committee of the Privy Council whose chairman would, for purposes of these questions only, have a seat in the Cabinet. The final decision would then be come to by the Cabinet.

Whether such a plan is feasible, and could be arranged for without infringing constitutional practice and procedure, is a question on which I am not able to express any opinion. It would, I believe, not be objected to by the Princes; and it would appear to avoid prejudicing the interests whether of British or States' India, while securing consultation between them. The difficulties inherent in securing the latter without detriment to the rights and

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

interests of the States under the protection of the paramount power afford effective testimony to the inherent impossibility, at the present stage, of devising a federal system binding the two.

So far, then, as concerns the next stage of the central Government of India, the suggestion is that :—

(*a*) the time for an extension of the responsibility of the Legislature has not yet arrived ; but that

(*b*) a link should, if possible, be found to facilitate consultations between the Council of State and Princes' India ; and, quite definitely,

(*c*) a unitary, Indian, merger of the affairs of Princes' and British Indian areas is altogether out of the range of practical politics, at all events for a very long time to come.

As regards the provinces the situation is entirely different from every point of view. One reason why it would be madness to-day to adopt for the central Government the ambitious scheme of devolution contained in the Nehru Report is that it would jeopardise the development of the provincial governments whose experience of responsibility is still so brief and inconclusive. A very considerable expansion of responsibility (possibly, in a go-ahead province like the Western Presidency, extending

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

to complete autonomy in respect of all purely provincial departments) is conceivable without serious prejudice to the general situation, subject to one very important condition. It will be realised, I think, by most people with a faint acquaintance with the country that what is most to be deprecated in the true interests of Indian development and the evolution towards complete autonomy, is a too rapid abandonment of the western element in the *personnel* of the services of all departments. Indians of experience are the first to recognise this. Unless some safeguarding measures are devised which will protect provincial legislatures from the pressure that will be brought to bear on them, especially in their early and inexperienced youth, to proceed recklessly on the road to completer Indianisation, there will be a very real risk of a loss of efficiency in the subordinate executive as well as in the superior ranks of the administration; and this might have disastrous results and a very unfortunate influence upon future development. This risk was indeed foreseen in 1919, and the question of setting up in India a permanent Public Services Commission to administer the recruitment to the services in all provinces was carefully discussed. I am not aware of what has since taken place, but I firmly believe that, provided such a body were constituted with certain statutory powers, and operating under the control of the Govern-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ment of India, it would be possible, without serious danger, to contemplate a very real and important advance towards provincial autonomy.

To Englishmen far away from the scene, and unfamiliar with the actual day-to-day conditions governing the Indian political atmosphere, it is a constant puzzle that those extremist Indians who are to-day agitating for complete Dominion status should not recognise that a preliminary to any form of unitary central government with responsibility is the existence of provincial administrations, fully self-governing, of full age, who are themselves competent to determine how and on what conditions they are prepared to enter upon a federal and co-operative existence. Experience within the British Empire tends to the deduction that the act of federation among self-governing communities is an operation of extreme delicacy and complexity, even when the population of the constituent States is ethnologically similar. In Canada, in Australia, and in South Africa the operation was fraught with difficulty, and was only carried through by the exercise of the greatest possible tact. Indeed, in the case of South Africa, where there was not complete racial homogeneity, the establishment of the Union was held to involve very grave political risks.

In the light of this experience one can only stand aghast at the hardihood of those theorists

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

such federation, and such unification at the centre, can have relation only to British India; and for that reason alone, it is as yet impossible to foresee the conditions in which the Indian Continent as a whole can be brought to the condition of a Dominion, self-governing and self-sufficient, within the Empire.

I fear that I have been drawn, in this last chapter, into fields which lie ordinarily wide of the path of the memoir-writer. Whatever merit or interest are found to inhere in the record of impressions gained during a fairly long career in the Indian service may seem to be obscured by any attempt to draw a moral or adorn a tale. On the other hand, it may be contended that if I had no views and no suggestions to offer on the problem now so insistently before us, I must have grievously wasted my time or else be sadly infertile of ideas. And I suppose, in any case, that all of us wish to 'get rid of what we know.'

As one who has loved India and her people, and spent the best and happiest years of his life there, it has been a pleasurable pastime to recall some of the interests and personalities which have helped to mould his thoughts and views. But India leaves one with only a few illusions; and the expectation that the submission of definite opinions as to her future development will be hailed in any quarter with complete approval is not one of them.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

We shall go on making mistakes in India for a long while to come, but the mistakes will not vitally matter provided the spirit that informs them is the right spirit. The task of guiding her evolution demands more than mere statesmanship; it will require more than philanthropic goodwill. Expediency may wreck it; haste certainly will. So long as we approach it as a national, and not a party, duty; so long, too, as we recognise that the shibboleths and formulæ of our own political system do not of necessity apply, there will be hope that we may succeed, not in evolving ourselves a system of polity perfectly adapted to India's need, but in creating a condition of things in which Indians may come to find, of themselves and without risk of disaster, a scheme of self-government suited to their genius and to the peculiarly complicated circumstances of that crowded continent. I believe it to be true, as Mr Panniker[1] has said, that "the British political tradition has become a part of the heritage of India, and this is the governing fact in the Indian situation," but that does not imply either that India is as yet capable of managing her own affairs without extraneous aid, or that our own British institutions, the growth of a thousand years' experience, are in every respect applicable to Indian conditions. It does, however, justify us in persevering on

[1] 'The Working of Dyarchy in India, 1919-1928' (Tarapore vala).

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

the road laid down in the Proclamation of 1858, and to do so compels us to take risks. The government of India is not only a sacred trust, it is also the greatest adventure in the world. Begun as an adventure in commerce; developed, by force of circumstance, as an adventure in arms; it is now an adventure in moral and sociological regeneration. Our administration of the trust thus laid upon us has been so good that we have awakened thereby the soul of the peoples. It is no reply to say that we have only awakened the soul of a small percentage of the people, since, after all, such cataclysmic revolutions must be a gradual growth.

While, then, we must go on, steadily and continuously, there is the precedent of Rome to temper the rapidity of advance. We are striving, in India, to produce and foster that localism which Rome produced in Europe; a localism that was too early deprived of the guiding hand of its creator, and which consequently, to use Chesterton's word, led to a general 'decivilisation' accentuated by the inroads of barbarians. India is a congeries of as many, and as widely differing, races as was Europe in the days of the Roman Empire; and across India's borders are the races, traditionally hostile and as yet uncivilised, to whom a defenceless India, prematurely left to fend for herself, would be an easy prey.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX A.

CASTE.

For more detailed information on the subject of the Caste system in India the reader should refer to one or other of the many standard works on the subject, or to one of the Indian Census reports. For the purpose, however, of rendering intelligible some of the comments in Chapter XI. and elsewhere, the following very brief outline is offered.

Hindus are, under the mythical laws of Manu, divided into four main divisions :—

1. Brahmins (priests and law-givers).
2. Kshatriyas (kings and soldiers).
3. Vaisyas (traders and clerical castes).
4. Sudras (menial servants).

The aborigines, and the many million *pariahs* (outcastes) of Madras, are outside the recognised castes altogether.

Brahmins (the number of whose sub-divisions is legion) being the class that drew up and still administers these caste regulations, are thus privileged in every conceivable way. To be a Brahmin is to be a law unto oneself. Hence the very sensible action of the ship-wrecked Scandinavians referred to on page 40. Yet even Brahmins have their differences *inter se*, while

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

their customs vary *toto coelo*. Some sects of Brahmins are meat-eaters, others permit fish on the menu. Some sects who call themselves Brahmins are not given full recognition, as, for example, the Shenvis, and, in Bombay, the Parbhus.

Kshatriyas include all Rajputs, whatever their calling, provided that their descent is authenticated. Any Rajput may aspire to princely rank and rule. Certain other castes claim Kshatriya status, as, for example, the Maratha line of Shivaji, and the ruling family in Kashmir.

Vaisyas.—There are more sub-divisions of this third main heading even than of the Brahmins. I have referred in the text to Banyas and Bhatyas, and the number of the sub-divisions of these two alone is very large, and the groups differ all over India. The large and important communities of the *Jains* and *Lingayets* come under this main heading of Vaisya. Many agricultural castes (other than Rajputs) come under the Vaisya classification.

Under *Sudra* come all those who do the lower grades of work, as well as menial service. Thus the blacksmith, the leather worker, the sweepers, and a hundred others are all distinct sub-divisions of the Sudra class.

There are agricultural castes belonging to all the four main headings, though Brahmin agriculturists are not found in many places outside the Punjab.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF VICEROYS OF INDIA, 1894 TO 1921.

1894-1899.	Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.
1899-1905.	Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.
1905-1910.	Earl of Minto.
1910-1916.	Lord Hardinge of Penshurst.
1916-1921.	Viscount Chelmsford.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDEX.

Activity of Indian Foreign Office in Lord Curzon's time, 134.
Administration, system of, 14.
Aden, Lord Northcote's visit to, and problems connected with, 123.
Afsar-ud-Davla, Nawab, Hyderabad, 77.
Aga Khan, His Highness Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, 48, 182, 321.
Agricultural Education in India, problems connected with, 224.
Service in India, appreciation of, 226, 227.
Ahmedabad, 116.
Akbar, Moghul Emperor, our indebtedness to, 16.
Alexandra Dock, Bombay, 204.
Asoka stone, Junágadh, Kathiawar, 174.
Australia, 157.
Northern Territories, 159.
Sir Hal Colebatch, Agent-General, Western, 160.
Ayerst, Lt., murdered in Poona, 43.

Baker, Sir Edward, Finance Member of Council, 134.
Barnes, Sir George, Commerce and Industry Member of Council, 250.
Belgrami, Sir Syed Hussain, 77.
Bengal, partition of, 141.
Permanent settlement of, and consequent difference in relations with Indians, 60.
Berar, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 99.
Beynon, Captain (now Sir W. G. L.), 55.
Bhils, 28.
Bhownagar, State in Kathiawar, 179.
Bikaner, His Highness the Maharaja of, 148.
Bismarck, Count von, 3.
Bombay, Development Committee, 198.
Natural History Society, 172.
Presidency, ready for an extension of responsibility, 1913, 199, 200.
Town Planning Act, 199.
Bookmakers, abolition of, Bombay, 193.
Border Courts, administration of, 28.
Bribe, offer of, 74.
British India and Indian States contrasted, 32.
Bureaucracy in India defended, 53.
Criticised, 68, 201.
Tendency to crystallised uniformity, 67, 201.
Butler, Sir Harcourt, lately Governor of Burma, 85, 218, 293.

Calcutta, as capital of India, 56.
University—disputes with Vice-Chancellor, 222.
Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 8.
Caste, difficulties in way of understanding, 37.
Persistence of system of, 287.
Committees, 45.
Chailley, author of 'Administrative Problems of British India,' 295.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Chamber of Princes, 312.
Chandárvarkar, Sir Nárayenrao, 48.
Charodi Cattle Farm, founded by Lord Northcote, 120.
Chelmsford, Viscount, Viceroy of India, 200, 218, 220, 239, 249.
Chiefs' Colleges in India, 146.
Child marriages, 270.
Chirol, Sir Valentine, author of 'Indian Unrest,' 40, 45.
Chitorghar, Udaipur State, ancient capital of, 86.
Chitpávan Brahmins, 40.
Christianity, Hindu view of, 256.
Civil horse-breeding, 233.
Club problem in India, 113, 211.
Colebatch, Sir Hal, Agent-General, Western Australia, 160.
Collector and the crocodile, story of, 23.
Collector's duties, 21.
Co-operative credit movement, 233.
Corruption in Hyderabad, 75.
Courage, instances of, 98.
Curzon, Marquess, Viceroy of India, 68, 86, 100, 108, 116, 119, 133, 142, 227.
  Visit to Persian Gulf, 134.

Darmstadt, 3.
Deakin, Mr Alfred, Prime Minister, Australia, 157.
Decentralisation Commission, 164.
Delhi Conference, April 1918, to concert special effort in aid of Allies, 208, 249.
  Durbar at, 1902-1903, 126.
  Siege of, 55.
Denudation of India of troops, 1914-1918, 211, 216.
Depressed Classes Missions, &c., 288.
Despatch of troops overseas, 1914-1918, 204.
District tours, value of, 9, 20.
Diu, Portuguese Settlement, dispute with Junágadh, 35.
Durbar, Agra, 1906-1907, 165.

Education, agricultural bias, 224.
  An American view, 277.
  As settled in 1839, 292.
  Influences of Western, 257.
Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 8.
Emblem of the Red Cross, 254.

Failure of monsoon, 1917, 237.
Famine conditions, Ahmedabad, 1899-1900, 115.
  Lessons drawn from, 184.
Foodstuffs Controller, and Foodstuffs and Transport Board, 1917-1918, 218, 238.
Federal system, difficulties in way of, 320.
Foreign Office, reorganisation of, 134.
Forest service in India, appreciation of, 226, 227.
Fraser, Sir Andrew, Lt.-Governor, Bengal, 64.
Fraser, Mr Lovat, author of 'India under Curzon,' 142, 153.
Frontier campaigns, administration of, 55.
Future, problem of the, 297.

Gándhi, Mahátma, 180, 250, 251, 276, 285.
German offensive of March 1918, measures taken in India, 249.
Germany, employé of Udaipur State, 80.
Gir lions, 172.
Gokhale, Honble. G. K., political leader, 42, 91, 280.
Great War, conditions in Bombay on outbreak of, 203.
  Delhi Conference, April 1918, 249.
  Depletion of *personnel* of Indian services during, and consequent overwork, 216.
  Hindu views regarding, 208.
Greville, Captain the Hon. C. F. (now Lord), 109, 127.
Gubbay, Mr M. M. S., Food Controller, 238.

Hailey, Sir Malcolm, 251.
Hardinge, Rt. Hon. Lord, Viceroy, 200.
Hawtrey, Dr Stephen, 1, 2.
Hesse-Cassel, Landgráf of; incidents of visit to Udaipur, 168.
Hesse-Darmstadt, Grand Duke of, 5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Hewett, Sir John, Home Secretary, 1895, 51.
Hichens, Mr W. L., 164.
Hindu conception of life, 260.
Hinduism, aspects of, 258.
Philosophy of, 270.
Hobhouse, Sir Charles, Chairman of Decentralisation Commission, 163.
Holkar, late Maharaja, of Indore, 150.
Holland, Sir Thomas, 250.
Home Office, India, scope of work in 1895, 52.
Horse-breeding in India, 233-236.
Hospitals for wounded, Bombay, 1914-1918, 205.
Hyderabad assigned districts (Berar), 99, 149.
State (Nizam's dominions), 27, 72, 92.

Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, Revenue Secretary, 1897, 66, 233.
Imperial Cadet Corps, 144.
Increased association of Indians in the administration, 200, 242, 289.
Indian Civil Service, examination and age limit, 9.
Indian services, recruitment of, 290.
Indian Red Cross Society, establishment of, 252.
'India under Curzon and After,' by Lovat Fraser, 153.
'Indian Unrest,' by Sir Valentine Chirol, 45.
Indore, His Highness the late Maharaja Holkar of, 150.
Inter-State quarrels, 175.
Irrigation schemes, Sindh, 198.
Deccan and Punjab, 231.

Jackson, Mr A. M. T., murder of, at Nasik, 43.
Jamnagar, His Highness Maharaja Jamsahib, 35, 176.
Justice, difficulties in administration of, 29, 30.
Jutland, battle of: news received in India, 219.

Kashmir, visit to, 1917, 239.
Kathiawar, "morass in Central India," 35.
Province of, 35, 169, 173.
Kathis, customs of, 173.
Khoja-Ismailyas—followers of His Highness the Aga Khan, 182.
Kitchener, Field Marshal Earl, Commander-in-Chief in India, 156.
Visit to Kathiawar, 178.
Popularity of, with Rajput chiefs, 179.
Depression in India on news of his death, 220.

Lamington, Lord, Governor of Bombay, 156.
Land-revenue administration, 18, 19.
Lauder, Dr, 96.
Laurie, Colonel Edward, Residency surgeon, Hyderabad, 92.
Lausanne, École Industrielle, 5.
Law, Sir Edward, Finance Member of Council, 76.
Lawrence, Sir Walter, Private Secretary to Lord Curzon, 106, 138.
League of Red Cross Societies, 254.
Lee-Warner, Sir William, 15, 51, 108, 309.
Lely, Sir Frederick, Commissioner, Ahmedabad, 115.
Lhassa. See Tibet Expedition, 138, 140.
Life, Hindu conception of, 257.
Limbdi, Thakore Sahib of, 48.
Lions in the Gir Forest, Kathiawar, 172.
Loti, Pierre, author of 'L'Inde sans les Anglais,' 27, 160.
Low, General Sir Robert, 55.
Lowndes, Sir George, legal Member of Council, 254.
Lukis, Sir Pardey, Director-General, Indian Medical Service, 218, 253.

Macaulay, Lord, 292.
MacDonald, Rt. Honble. Ramsay, 48.
Macmahon, Sir Henry, 141.
Macnaghten, Mr Chester, Principal, Rajkumar College, Rajkot, 147.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Maitland, General P. J., Resident, Aden, 123.
Malcolm, Sir John, 85.
Mayo, Miss Katherine, author of 'Mother India,' 270.
M'Donnell, Lord, Chairman, Famine Commission, 115.
Mesopotamian campaign, 219.
Metempsychosis, Hindu view of, 258.
Meyer, Sir William, Finance Member of Council, 17.
Minto, Earl of, Viceroy of India, 84.
Missions, contribution of, to India's growing prosperity, 232.
Mollison, Mr A., Director of Agriculture, 120.
Moltke, General von, 3.
Monro, General Sir Charles, 219, 250.
Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 201, 240, 281.
Morley-Minto Reforms, 153, 200.
Morvi, His Highness the Thakore Sahib of, 170, 176.
'Mother India,' by Miss Katherine Mayo, 270.

Náthdwára, shrine at, Udaipur State, 91.
Natural History Society, Bombay, 172.
Nehru Report, 302.
Nizam of Hyderabad, 1897-1899, 72.
Northcote, Lord, Governor of Bombay, 5, 106.
North-West Frontier, constant preoccupation with, 221.

Ollivant, Sir Charles, 35.

Pandit, Mr Sitaram, 41, 187.
Paranjpye, Hon. Mr R., 292.
Partap Singh, His Highness General Sir, Maharaja of Idar, 176, 177.
Partap Singh, Maharána of Udaipur, 86, 167.
Partition of Bengal, 142.
Pattani, Sir Parbhashankar, 180.
Permanent settlement, Bengal, 60.
Pierre Loti, author of 'L'Inde sans les Anglais,' 27.
Plague in India—Poona, 40, 121.
Bombay, 39, 112.
Hyderabad, 92.
Plowden, Sir Chichele, Resident, Hyderabad, 72.
Political service in India, 32.
Princes of India, policy in regard to, 84.
Position of, in a changing British India, 152, 302, 309.
Relations with, 149, 310.
Progress, material, between 1900 and 1910, 183, 186, 231.
Proposals for reform in the Bombay Presidency, 200.
Prosperity, growth of, in India, 231.
'Protected Princes of India,' Sir W. Lee Warner, 15, 309.
Provincial devolution advocated, 245.
Purohit—family priest to Rajput household, 87.
Public services in India, strain of work upon, 216.
Commission, proposed, 319.

Quagga—wild ass of Runn of Cutch, capture of, 170.

Races of India, diversity of, 201.
Racial problems and relations, 112, 203, 267.
Racing legislation, Bombay, 193.
Consequences of, 194, 235.
Rand, Mr W., murdered in Poona, 43.
Rawson, Admiral Sir Harry, Governor, New South Wales, 157.
Red Cross in India, 203, 218.
Reed, Sir George, Prime Minister, Australia, 157.
Reforms in India, Act of 1919, 201, 281, 283.
Magnitude of problem, 201, 202.
Reasons in support of, 198, 200.
Position of Indian States in relation to, 302, 308.
Reforms, Morley-Minto, 153, 200.
Regeneration of India, task of, 270, 275.
Reid, Sir Marshall, 129.
Representative institutions, are they suited to the Indian genius? 282.
Riding, value of, to district officers, 10.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Ryots, our responsibility for well-being of, 188.
Improvement of economic condition of, 232.

Sadler, Sir Michael, Chairman, Calcutta University Commission, 223.
Sandhurst, Viscount, Governor of Bombay, 109.
Santoliquido, Professor Rocco, of "Office International," 55.
Scudamore, Colonel Walter, R.E., 5.
Share, Admiral Sir Hamnet, 157.
Simla, Consule Lord Elgin, 50.
Simon Commission, suggestions for, 246.
Sindhia, H.H. the late Maharaja, of Gwalior, 148.
Social intercourse in India, 211, 266.
Spirit of independence, beginnings of, in agricultural India, 185.
Spiritual merit, acquisition of, 285.
Stanley, the Honble. Sir Arthur, Chairman, British Red Cross, 253.
States of Indian Princes, safeguards for, 302.
Superstition among Khoja Mahommedans, 109.
Sydenham, Lord, Governor of Bombay, 70, 191, 198, 200.
Suggestions for the future, 297, 314, 318.

Tagg, Lord Northcote's stud-groom, anecdotes of, 126.
Territorials, arrival of, in India, 218.
Tibet Expedition, 1903-4, 138, 140.
Tiger shooting, Hyderabad, 95.
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar and Poona riots, 40.
Totalizator, introduction of, in Bombay, 193.
Effect on racing, 196.
Town Planning Act in Bombay, 199.
Townshend, General Sir Charles, 219.
Trench, Captain R. Chenevix, 118.
Troops, denudation of India of, 211, 216.
Despatch overseas of, 1914 to 1918, 204.
Turf Club, West of India, 193.
Turf Clubs, interest in horse breeding, 236.

Udaipur State, 78, 160.
Udaipur, His Highness Sir Fatehsinghi, Maharana of, 78, 148.
Personal characteristics, 80, 161.
Universities, reforms in, in India, 141.

Vedanta philosophy and Christianity, 257.
Viceroys, list of, from 1894 to 1921, Appendix B.
Victory, Tower of, Chitor, 86.
Vikar-ul-Umra, Nawab Sir, Minister, Hyderabad, 73.

Waddington, Charles, Principal, Mayo College, 147.
Walker, Colonel, author of Settlement in Kathiawar, 174.
War, 1914-1918, 203, 209, 216, 249.
Watson, Mr, Labour Leader, Australia, 157.
Western influences, reaction of, upon Hindus, 257.
White, Mr, Collector of Broach district, 23.
Whyte, Sir Frederick, ex-Speaker, Indian Legislative Assembly, 245, 280.
Wild asses, Kathiawar, 170.
Willingdon, Viscount, Governor of Bombay, 70, 198, 205, 211, 246.
Sports Club, Bombay, 214.
Women of India, education of, 212.
Gradually changing conditions of, 265.
Wounded in Bombay hospitals, 206.
Wren and Gurney, 7.

Young, Colonel Arthur, R.H.A., Handicapper, Pony Turf Club, 198.
Younghusband, Sir Francis, 138.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Printed in Great Britain by
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS LTD.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Digitized with financial assistance from

NSDL
Technology, Trust & Reach

on 16 November, 2018

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA